

INSTITUTE  
OF PACIFIC  
RELATIONS

SECTION 1

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Federal Bureau of Investigation  
United States Department of Justice  
New York 7, New York

100-13515

3/10/83  
Classified by SP6 BJA/ks  
Declassify on: OADR

August 23, 1943

Director, FBI

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT  
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE.

Re: EDWARD G. GARTER  
INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS  
INTERNAL SECURITY

Dear Sir:

[REDACTED] (c)

REFERRED [REDACTED] (c)

REFERRED [REDACTED] (c)

REFERRED [REDACTED] (c)



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110-21-011  
11-189-41

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NY 100-13515

Letter to Director

August 23, 1943

REFERRED

[REDACTED] (c)

REFERRED

[REDACTED] (c)

REFERRED

[REDACTED] (c)

b1

[REDACTED] (c)

Very truly yours

*E. E. Conroy*  
E. E. CONROY  
S. A. C.

cc: 100-13515

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

3/10/83

Classified by SP0BJ/ck  
Declassify on: OADR

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[Redacted]

100-64700

Date: October 15, 1943

To: SAC, New York

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
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DATE 3/10/83 BY SP0BJ/ck

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WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

FROM: J. Edgar Hoover - Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation

Subject: EDWARD C. CARTER  
INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS  
SECURITY MATTER

Mr. Tolson

Mr. E. A. Tamm

REFERRED

Mr. Clegg

Mr. Glavin

Mr. Ladd

Mr. Nichols

Mr. Rosen

Mr. Tracy

Mr. Carson

Mr. Coffey

Mr. Hendon

OCT 15 1943 P.M.

Mr. Kramer

Mr. McGuire

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Mr. Quinn Tamm

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

Mr. Nease

Miss Gandy

24 OCT 18 1943

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

OCT 16 1943

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

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Federal Bureau of Investigation  
United States Department of Justice  
New York 7, New York

b7C

100-17808

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
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November 24, 1943

3/10/83

Classified by SP6 BJK/ks  
Declassify on: OADR

Director, FBI

Re: EDWARD C. CARTER  
INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS  
SECURITY MATTER  
(Bureau file 100-64700)

Dear Sir:

GS

REFERRED

[REDACTED]

Miss HILDA AUSTERN, Assistant Treasurer of the Institute of Pacific Relations, advised that the organization is an international, non-political, non-official and non-profit organization which was founded in Honolulu by a group of people from several countries bordering on the Pacific who decided that some unofficial body was needed wherein representative citizens of nations with interests in the Pacific could exchange opinions and conduct research on their common problems. When the war started, the offices of the Institute were moved to the United States, the present address of which is at 1 E. 54th Street, New York City. Before Pearl Harbor, there were eleven national councils as follows:

- Australia - Australian Institute of International Affairs
- Canada - Canadian Institute of International Affairs
- China - China Council, Institute of Pacific Relations
- France - Comite D'Etude des Problemes du Pacifique
- Great Britain - Royal Institute of International Affairs
- Japan - Japanese Council, Institute of Pacific Relations
- Netherlands - Netherlands Indies - Netherlands - Netherlands Indies-Council, Institute of Pacific Relations
- New Zealand - New Zealand Institute of International Affairs
- Philippines - Philippine Institute of International Affairs
- U.S.S.R. - U.S.S.R. Council, Institute of Pacific Relations
- U.S.A. - American Council, Institute of Pacific Relations

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memo Clark  
12-17-43  
JW: fuba

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

After Pearl Harbor there was, of course, no Japanese Council.

The Institute is supported by contributions from National Councils and from various foundations including Carnegie Foundation, Columbia Foundation, Coolidge Foundation, Rockefeller Foundation, and from various corporations. It is also supported by receipts from its various publications. Each council of the Institute is an autonomous body and cooperates with the Institute although it is not connected therewith in an official capacity.

It does not express opinions or advocate policies. The councils' researches are generally financed by an International Research Committee while the local work of the Institute is made possible by contributions from the above sources. The councils are privately financed by their own nationals and on their own part they aid in supporting the governing body which is called the Pacific Council which is composed of one representative from each of the above named councils.

In connection with the work of the Institute, research and survey are undertaken, the results of which are published in a fortnightly periodical known as the "Far Eastern Survey". Another publication is "Pacific Affairs", a quarterly, presenting original research material from the ten countries now participating in the Institute of Pacific Relations.

*stop*  
The files of this office reflect that in the year 1940 the Institute received contributions of approximately \$69,000 which slightly exceeded its expenses. It has been reported from several sources that the organization is not completely Communistically controlled but has served as a Communist propaganda agency.

REFERRED

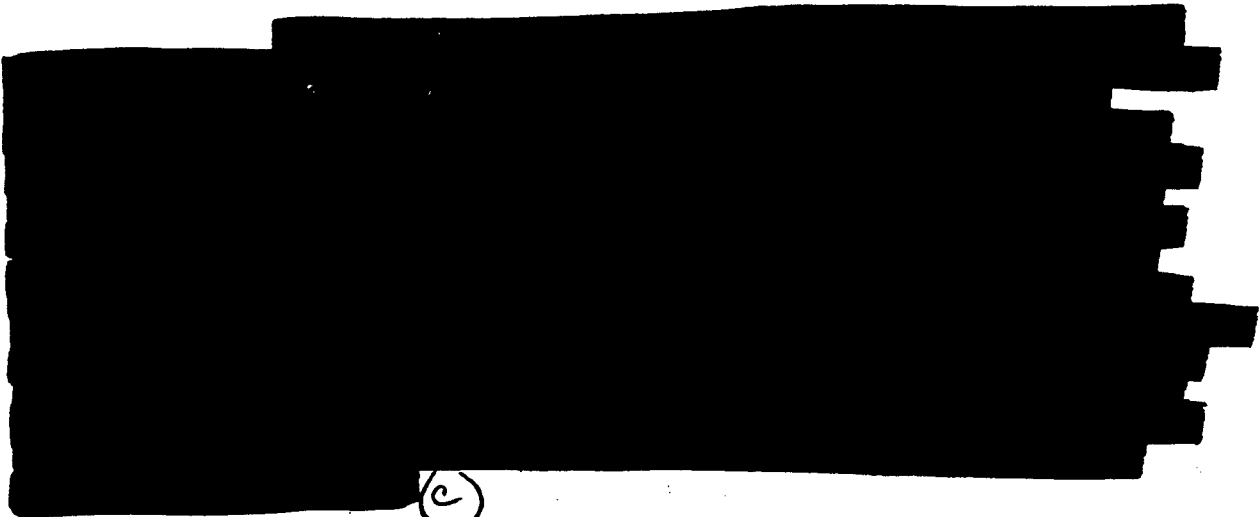
*done*  
According to a pamphlet of the Institute of Pacific Relations, its program combines research, discussion and public education. Under its auspices important research projects have been undertaken: "Growth of Japanese industry, foreign investments in the Far East, government and nationalism in southeast Asia, and land utilization in China are examples". Books are also published by the Institute, one of which is "Know Your Enemy: Japan" of which copies were

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

taken by the Army and Navy alone numbering many thousands. Special material is assembled for businessmen, teachers, publicists and other groups, and the Institute has become known as a primary source of information and study on the Pacific area.

Mr. EDWARD C. CARTER is the Secretary General of the Institute of Pacific Relations and Miss HILDA AUSTERN is the Assistant Treasurer. Mr. Carter is connected with the Russian War Relief, which, according to the files of this office, is infiltrated with known Communists, Communist leaders, fellow travelers, and front organizations. Carter was born in Lawrence, Massachusetts on June 9, 1878 and was educated in the United States. In 1941 he was a member of the Executive Committee of the American Russian Institute.



REFERRED

(c)  
She advised that the Japanese Council made regular yearly contributions from \$500 to \$1500 since they became a member of the Institute in 1925 or 1927; that there was no representation by the Institute of the Japanese Council but merely a membership. The contribution made in 1940 was \$1,404 and Miss Austern advised that she believed this payment was cleared through the Japanese Consul and that that was the last contribution which was made. All the contributions from the various councils and other sources were placed in one fund which was used to pay the salaries of the staff of the Institute and other bills of the organization. The councils had nothing to do whatsoever with hiring of any individual as a member of the staff of the Institute. Miss Austern also advised that the Institute had written to the State Department asking if it should register and that it was advised by the State Department that it was not necessary for that organization to register.

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In view of the circumstances, since there is no indication of subversive activities on the part of the Institute of Pacific Relations, and further in view of the fact that the State Department has advised that organization that it was not necessary for it to register, no further action is contemplated by this office in connection with this matter unless advised by the Bureau to the contrary.

Very truly yours,

*E. E. Conroy*  
E. E. CONROY *Wm*  
SAC

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

100-64700 - 16  
12-17-43

RECORDED

Date:  
To: ASSISTANT ATTORNEY GENERAL  
TOM C. CLARK

3/10/83  
Classified by SP6 BJA/ks  
Declassify on: OADR

From: J. Edgar Hoover - Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation

Subject: EDWARD G. CARTER  
INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS  
REGISTRATION ACT

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT  
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE.

REFERRED CT

Miss Hilda Austern, Assistant Treasurer of the Institute of Pacific Relations, advised that the organization is an international, non-political, non-official and non-profit organization which was founded in Honolulu by a group of people from several countries bordering on the Pacific who decided that some unofficial body was needed wherein representative citizens of nations with interests in the Pacific could exchange opinions and conduct research on their common problems. When the war started, she said the offices of the Institute were moved to the United States, the present address being 1 East 54th Street, New York City; before Pearl Harbor there were eleven national councils as follows:

- Australia - Australian Institute of International Affairs
- Canada - Canadian Institute of International Affairs
- China - China Council, Institute of Pacific Relations
- France - Comite D'Etude des Problemes du Pacifique
- Great Britain - Royal Institute of International Affairs
- Japan - Japanese Council, Institute of Pacific Relations
- Netherlands - Netherlands Indies - Netherlands - Netherlands Indies Council, Institute of Pacific Relations
- New Zealand - New Zealand Institute of International Affairs
- Philippines - Philippine Institute of International Affairs
- U.S.S.R. - U.S.S.R. Council, Institute of Pacific Relations
- U.S.A. - American Council, Institute of Pacific Relations

- Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. E. A. Tamm \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Clegg \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Glavin \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Ladd \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Nichols \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Tracy \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Carson \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Coffey \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Hendon \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Kramer \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. McGuire \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Quinn Tamm \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Nease \_\_\_\_\_
- Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

After Pearl Harbor there was, of course, no Japanese Council, according to Miss Austern.

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

She advised the Institute is supported by contributions from National Councils and from various foundations including Carnegie Foundation.

DEC 20 1943

F. M. [Signature]  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

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[Handwritten initials]

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Mr. Tom C. Clark

Columbia Foundation, Coelidge Foundation, Rockefeller Foundation, various corporations and also by receipts from its publications. Miss Austern also advised each council of the Institute is an autonomous body and cooperates with the Institute although it is not connected therewith in an official capacity.

She said it does not express opinions or advocate policies; its researches are generally financed by an International Research Committee while the local work of the Institute is made possible by contributions from the above sources. The councils are privately financed by their own nationals, she added, and on their own part they aid in supporting the governing body which is called the Pacific Council which is composed of one representative from each of the above named councils.

In connection with the work of the Institute, research and survey are undertaken, the results of which are published in a fortnightly periodical known as the "Far Eastern Survey" according to Miss Austern. She also advised that another publication is "Pacific Affairs", a quarterly, presenting original research material from the ten countries now participating in the Institute of Pacific Relations.

A pamphlet of the Institute of Pacific Relations indicates its program combines research, discussion and public education. The pamphlet states: "Under its auspices important research projects have been undertaken: 'Growth of Japanese Industry', 'Foreign Investments in the Far East', 'Government and Nationalism in Southeast Asia' and 'Land Utilization in China'." According to Miss Austern, books are also published by the Institute, one of which is "Know Your Enemy: Japan" of which copies were taken by the Army and Navy alone numbering many thousands. She further advised special material is assembled for businessmen, teachers, publicists and other groups, and the Institute has become known as a primary source of information and study on the Pacific area.

In addition to the information set forth above secured from Miss Austern, the files of this Bureau indicate that during 1940 the Institute received contributions totaling approximately \$69,000, an amount slightly exceeding its expenses. It has been reported by several sources of information that the organization, though not completely dominated by persons inclined to favor Communism, has served as a Communist propaganda agency.

REFERRED

Mr. Edward C. Carter, Secretary General of the Institute of Pacific Relations, is connected with the Russian War Relief organization which has been reported on numerous occasions to be infiltrated with Communists, Communist leaders, fellow travelers and members of front organizations. Carter was born in Lawrence, Massachusetts on June 9, 1878, and was educated in the United

Mr. Tom C. Clark

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

States. In 1941 he was a member of the Executive Committee of the American Russian Institute.

[REDACTED]

REFERRED

(c)  
She advised that the Japanese Council made regular yearly contributions from \$500 to \$1,500 since they became a member of the Institute in 1925 or 1927; that there was no representation by the Institute of the Japanese Council but merely a membership. The contribution made in 1940 was \$1,404 and Miss Austern advised that she believed this payment was cleared through the Japanese Consul and that that was the last contribution which was made. All the contributions from the various councils and other sources were placed in one fund which was used to pay the salaries of the staff of the Institute and other bills of the organization. The councils had nothing to do whatsoever with hiring of any individual as a member of the staff of the Institute. Miss Austern also advised that the Institute had written to the State Department asking if it should register and that it was advised by the State Department that it was not necessary for that organization to register.

Will you please advise me what further action you consider appropriate with reference to this matter.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Mr. Tolson	.....
Mr. E. A. Tamm	.....
Mr. Coffey	.....
Mr. Glavin	.....
Mr. Tracy	.....
Mr. Carson	.....
Mr. Hendon	.....
Mr. Mumford	.....
Mr. Piper	.....
Mr. Starke	.....
Mr. Nease	.....
Miss Gandy	.....

*sm*  
**TO :** Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation  
**FROM :** Tom C. Clark, Assistant Attorney General,  
 Criminal Division  
**SUBJECT:** Edward C. Carter  
 Institute of Pacific Relations  
 Registration Act

DATE: January 1, 1944

*b7C* 146-7-5312-7C

Reference is made to your memorandum of December 20, 1943, regarding the above mentioned subject.

Consideration has been given to this matter and it is our opinion that the information set out in your memorandum does not indicate a violation of the Foreign Agents Registration Act.

*b7C* You are no doubt familiar with the accusations of pro-Japanese activities made against this organization by [redacted] and it may be that you would desire to ascertain if [redacted] can substantiate any of his charges,

*on file*  
65-561

RECORDED & INDEXED

100-64700-7  
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*see 2198  
by memo  
1-10-44  
gc: fob*

JAN 5 1944

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100-64700-17

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RECORDED

SAC, Washington

~~SECRET~~

Date: January 10, 1944

To: J. Edgar Hoover - Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation

Subject: EDWARD U. CARTER  
INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS  
REGISTRATION ACT

Classified by SP3BAC/ks  
Declassify on: OADR 3/10/83

There are attached one copy of a memorandum addressed to the Criminal Division by the Bureau on December 20, 1943, with reference to this matter, and one copy of the Criminal Division's reply. You will note that the Criminal Division suggests it may be desirable to ascertain whether [redacted] can substantiate any of the charges he has made against the Institute of Pacific Relations. It is believed that these charges are the ones reported by Special Agent [redacted] in his report dated January 9, 1943, at Washington, D. C., entitled [redacted]

It is desired that [redacted] be interviewed to find out what substantial information he can provide to support his charges. (S) u

Attachments

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION  
MAILED  
★ JAN 11 1944 P.M.  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
37 JAN 12 1944 (47)

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UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 3/2/83 BY SP3BAC/ks  
~~SECRET~~  
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



Federal Bureau of Investigation

United States Department of Justice

Washington Field Division, 1435 K Street, N.W.  
Washington, 25, D. C.

97-461

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WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE.

February 12, 1944

3/10/83  
Classified by FLBja/c/s  
Declassify on: OADR

Director, FBI

RE: EDWARD C. CARTER  
INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS  
REGISTRATION ACT

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 3/21/83 BY SP6 BJA/pls

Dear Sir:

Reference is made to Bureau letter of January 10, 1944 requesting that [redacted] be interviewed to ascertain whether he could furnish any substantiation of the "charges" made by him as set forth in the report of Special Agent [redacted] Washington, D.C., dated January 9, 1943 in the case entitled [redacted]

On February 3, 1944 [redacted] interviewed by Special Agents [redacted] and [redacted]. He advised that on the following day he planned to depart from Washington for a period of six weeks and indicated that thereafter he would gladly furnish any additional information which he possessed, and also permit further review of the correspondence and documents in his possession, which was not possible at this time. From the entire interview [redacted] it is stated that it does not appear that he has any documentary evidence reflecting agency on behalf of the Japanese Government on the part of either the Institute of Pacific Relations or of the individual officers or members of that organization. He indicated that his correspondence may contain a letter or two which would confirm or tend to confirm the statements which he has made, and in this connection [redacted] agents with a mimeographed copy of a letter from V. S. McCLATCHY, Executive Secretary, California Joint Immigration Committee, dated August 1, 1936 and addressed to FRIDERICK V. FIELD, Secretary of the American Council, Institute of Pacific Relations, which is self-explanatory. Photostatic copies of this letter are being furnished to the Bureau and the offices receiving copies of this letter.

[redacted] that he is entirely justified in the statements he has made and that it is now

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SECRET - 25

RECORDED & INDEXED 100-64700-18  
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Director

97-461

obvious the manner in which the Japanese had operated through their use of well meaning individuals and groups in other countries under the guise of further relations in education, religion, culture, etc., whereas in fact they were collecting information and spreading propaganda for the expansion of its Government and the assistance of its military leaders. (S) u

b7d

[redacted] that the purposes and objectives of I.P.R. were entirely worthy and that the membership as a whole was sincere, but un-informed and gullible in that the members had followed the leadership of EDWARD C. CARTER, without knowing the details of the activities of I.P.R. or the true significance of many of its projects and movements. [redacted] that CARTER and a few other active officers had really controlled the work of I.P.R. and that most of the leading members, whose names were associated with I.P.R., could not even discuss its programs intelligently. [redacted]

b7d

[redacted] He mentioned several other dominating figures, including FRANK C. ATHERTON, and CHARLES F. LOOMIS, both of Honolulu. (S) u

[redacted] that a brief study of the history of I.P.R. would show that Japan and Japanese interests were the prime cause of concern to I.P.R. and that the record of the organization was in the final analysis one of service and appeasement to Japan and the Japanese whatever the motives of its officers may have been. He stated its programs had all been designed to increase cooperation with the Japanese by depicting them as kindly, cultured and progressive, and to cause Americans generally, and particularly American Youth, to become indoctrinated with the Japanese viewpoint and the Japanese attitude in the successive conflicts in China. He stated that unfortunately the British members had too often assisted the Japanese in putting over I.P.R. programs beneficial to Japan. He further advised that apart from Japan and the United States, and to a lesser degree, Britain and Canada, the other Pacific nations forming I.P.R. had been relatively inactive. (S) u

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[redacted] the Japanese officials considered I.P.R. as a Japanese project of great importance. [redacted] always gave full cooperation to any activity of I.P.R. and recalled that [redacted] (S) u

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~~SECRET~~

b7C Director  
[redacted]  
97-461

[redacted]

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[redacted] that he had brought this matter to the attention of RED CROWLEY, Editor of the Hawaiian "Sentinel," who had contacted the I.P.R. officials thereafter. Only one of the persons who attended the function by the name of LONG admitted the fact to Mr. CROWLEY, who [redacted] is well acquainted with I.P.R. history and who fought a number of the programs sponsored by I.P.R. (S) u

[redacted] that in 1932 or 1933 the Institute of Pacific Relations had conducted a survey at the request of the Japanese Council of the organization, whose chairman was the late INOZO NITOBÉ, [redacted] as one of the most brilliant Japanese leaders who was a member of the Diet, advisor to the Japanese Supreme War Council and advisor to the leading newspapers, Osaka Mainichi and the Tokyo Nichi Nichi, in addition to holding numerous other titles. [redacted] that NITOBÉ came to the United States and conducted a survey through the offices of the I.P.R. and the Federal Council of Churches in America, through the use of a questionnaire circular which was submitted to universities, state and county officials and other groups. This questionnaire consists of approximately one dozen questions covering vital political topics of the day. [redacted] recall three subjects, which sought American opinion on the Manchurian invasion, the Immigration Exclusion Act and the California Land Act, and advised he did not have a copy of the questionnaire. (S) u

b7d

He admitted that this was the only national poll conducted by I.P.R. for the benefit of the Japanese, but pointed out that this one was made directly at the request of the Japanese Council of I.P.R., which [redacted] is identical with the Society for Cultural Relations of Japan. [redacted] his previous charge that subsequent to the completion of the survey, INOZO NITOBÉ returned to Japan and submitted a report to the Supreme War Council. He stated the only proof of this was the publication appearing in the Osaka Mainichi indicating Americans were friendly to Japan, desired peace at any price, and lacked the ability to be realistic in world affairs. (S) u

b7d

[redacted] that CARTER had enthusiastically supported the propaganda program in the form of the poll and in reply to criticism raised at the time had argued that Dr. NITOBÉ was an internationalist, prominently associated with the League of Nations and a man of peace, [redacted] it appears now that he was working on behalf of the Japanese Government, which had a consistent record of war making. (S) u

b7d



~~SECRET~~

b7c Director  
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b7d [redacted] that the Institute of Pacific Relations had been an outgrowth of the old Pan Pacific Union, which was originally organized as an American organization by ALEXANDER HUME FORD. He stated that the old Pan Pacific Union had been supported by FRANK C. WATHERTON, an extremely wealthy Honolulu business man, who quarreled with FORD and withdrew his support, later organizing the I.P.R. [redacted] that thereafter FORD went to Japan where he organized the Pan Pacific Union in Japan, which was subsidized by TOKAGAWA, member of one of Japan's leading families; and when last heard of [redacted] FORD, now very aged, was still living in Japan. He stated that from the beginning of I.P.R., EDWARD C. CARTER was connected with it and has been a prime figure in controlling its policies and originating its programs. (S) u

b7d [redacted]

b7d [redacted] that in about 1933 CARTER had been invited to Japan by the Secretary of the Promotion of the International Cultural Relations Society of Japan, being directly approached by the Consul General, OKABA, at Honolulu. [redacted] that the Cultural Relations Society was an organ of the Japanese Foreign Office and in 1934 received a subsidy of two million yen.

[redacted] that when CARTER returned to Honolulu from Japan he brought with him a program which he succeeded in "selling" to the Department of Public Instruction. (S) u

b7d This plan included the introduction into the schools in Hawaii of a book based upon material furnished by the International Cultural Relations Society of Japan, which material was translated by Professor ROYAMA, Professor of History, Tokyo Imperial University, and a member of I.P.R., who followed CARTER to Honolulu. [redacted] that ROYAMA was assisted by Miss HELEN GAY PRATT, staff member of the school board. He also advised that at a subsequent date I.P.R. had sent Miss PRATT to New York City to introduce the program and the book at Lincoln High School, which is the teachers' training school of Columbia University. (S) u

b7d [redacted] that the book created from the Japanese material was extremely inaccurate, and in addition to being critical of American policies, portrayed the United States as a treaty violator, whereas Japan was made to

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Director

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adhering to all agreements and treaties. [redacted] that on December 11, 1934 the Sino-Korean People's League had vigorously protested to the Department of Education, with the result that publicity was given the cultural program, and the books which had been distributed were called in. He stated that AARON E. LONG, Superintendent of Education, advised that he had approved the plan but did not know that the Japanese were behind it and thought that it had emanated from I.P.R. (S) u

b7d  
[redacted] that as a result of a protest by the California Joint Immigration Committee the book had also been withdrawn by Columbia University. Prior to that, Miss PRATT had promised to revise the book and remove its errors. However, I.P.R. withdrew the book and discontinued collaboration with the Cultural Society of Japan. (S) u

b7d  
[redacted] that in 1937 a German history professor by the name of KLAUS MEHNERT came to Hawaii and was sponsored by I.P.R., who aided him in obtaining a position in the University of Hawaii. [redacted] that CARTER personally introduced MEHNERT to CHARLES F. LOOMIS, Secretary of the Hawaiian Branch of I.P.R., who took up the appointment with the University. [redacted] (S) u

b7d  
[redacted] that public opinion was somewhat aroused on the "occasion of an M Day" and that it was suggested to MEHNERT that he take out citizenship papers. MEHNERT declined to do so and stated he would rather be a German, after which he submitted his resignation. [redacted] that in late 1940 MEHNERT left Honolulu and went to Shanghai and today he is head of the German Propaganda Bureau at Shanghai. (S) u

b7d  
[redacted] that as late as 1939 CARTER had a plan for the expansion of Japanese culture in the form of bringing Japanese students to visit and study in the various countries of South America. He had nothing of a derogatory character in this connection. He advised, however, that by 1939 the opinion of the American Government and popularity was such that when the I.P.R. held its bi-annual conference at Virginia Beach, Virginia, the Japanese declined to send representatives. [redacted] (S) u

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~~SECRET~~

b7C Director  
[REDACTED]  
97-461

b7d

[REDACTED] (S) u  
[REDACTED] that in 1940 Rear Admiral HARRY YARNELL, retired, was proposed for the presidency of I.P.R. and that CARTER had opposed this suggestion. He stated that purely from hearsay he understood that CARTER was so anxious to preserve Japanese good will that he wrote to the Japanese Council about YARNELL and was informed by the Japanese that they strongly opposed election of YARNELL.  
[REDACTED]

b7d

[REDACTED] (S) u  
[REDACTED] EDWARD C. CARTER in connection with I.P.R. matters. He considers him to be an opportunist and a man more interested in his position and the expansion of his organization than almost any other consideration. He stated CARTER is the type who is always interested in promoting some group which will give him an opportunity to make money and attain position, and that he approves any plan or subject matter if he can possibly organize something. (S) u

b7d

[REDACTED] that the power behind I.P.R. is FRANK C. ATHERTON, an extremely wealthy man in Honolulu, who is a director in vast sugar interests, the Matson Shipping Interests, and numerous other business ventures, who has always financed I.P.R., giving as high as \$100,000 at a time. [REDACTED] that it has always been to ATHERTON'S interests to cooperate with the Japs and has found it advantageous to maintain friendship with the Japanese.  
[REDACTED] (S) u

b7d

[REDACTED] some interesting opinions as to Japanese character, stating that when slightly aroused they are entirely vicious and mean in an unreasoning manner. He also stated they are entirely unpredictable and within a brief interval might be gay and (S) u

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~~SECRET~~

b7c  
Director  
[redacted]  
97-461

free hearted and then go to the lowest depths. He stated that much of their ferocity could be attributed to the fact that they have a definite inferiority complex and this coupled with their Spartan training cause them to be extremely cruel when they have an opportunity to dominate other people. He stated that he recalled seeing small children punished by their fathers by placing a piece of cotton on their wrists and setting it on fire. He pointed out that after years of this type of restraint, the Japanese when given the opportunity would be unbelievably cruel to persons under their control. (S) u

[redacted] CHARLES F. LOOMIS, Secretary of the Hawaiian Branch, American Council of I.P.R., who, he said, had the same attitude as CARTER toward job. He pointed out that LOOMIS had formerly been a Y.M.C.A. official, but had left his job abruptly without notice when the opportunity to go with I.P.R. presented itself. He stated that LOOMIS had changed in his views recently [redacted] (S) u

[redacted] FREDERICK V. FIELD, Secretary of the American Council, whom he stated was more sincere than the other persons mentioned. He stated that he thought FIELD felt there was a chance for permanent peace with Japan, and that he had been so motivated in his support of the various programs and activities of I.P.R. He stated, however, that later FIELD became discouraged and had admitted that the Japanese had used I.P.R. for its own ends. (S) u

[redacted] that he thought he should mention Attorney WARREN THAYER, who for eighteen years was counsel for the Japanese Consulate in Honolulu. He stated that THAYER was a very prominent individual, who had been a prosecuting attorney, secretary to the governor, boy scout leader, commissioner, leading churchman, and a member of I.P.R. He stated that THAYER had been in charge of the National Finance and Mortgage Company, which was an AHERTON project, and his principal interests were with the Japanese in real estate and financial matters. [redacted] THAYER but indicated that THAYER had been associated with other persons mentioned in pro-Japanese activities. (S) u

Copies of this letter are being designated for New York in view of the fact that I.P.R. has its headquarters in New York City. Copies are furnished to the Honolulu Office for the reason that most of the activity mentioned took place in Honolulu. (S) u

~~SECRET~~  
~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

b7C Director  
97-461

b7d

It is planned to re-interview [redacted] his return to Washington for the purpose of reviewing any letters or documents he may have concerning I.P.R., or any of its officials, particularly EDWARD C. CARTER. (S) W

Very truly yours,

*Guy Hotter*  
GUY HOTTER  
SAC

Enclosure

- cc - New York (Enclosure)
- cc - Honolulu (Enclosure)

~~SECRET~~

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 3/10/83 BY SP6BJA/CL

ENCLOSURE

100-64700-18

James E. Fisk (Ch.)  
American Legion

Paul Scharrenberg  
State Fed. of Labor

John T. Regan  
Native Sons G.W.

CALIFORNIA JOINT IMMIGRATION COMMITTEE  
85 Second Street  
San Francisco, California  
GARFIELD 2697

Chas. H. Goethe  
Imm. Study Com.

Hon. U. S. Webb  
State Atty. Gen.

V. S. McClatchy  
(Exec. Secy.)

(Copy)

Mr. Frederick V. Field, Secy.,  
American Council,  
Institute of Pacific Relations,  
129 E. 52nd St.,  
New York City.

Ediphoned Tahoe City, July 29,  
Transcribed at San Francisco.  
August 1, 1936.

Dear Mr. Field:

Your letter of June 30th contains the first intimation received that the executives of the American Council, I.P.R., regard with anything but stern disapproval our criticism of the text book on Japan sponsored by that organization and used in certain public schools of Hawaii in 1935. Your frank acknowledgement of the justice of that criticism merited prompt personal acknowledgement, if not answer, but since June 15th, while enjoying a prescribed rest here, I have not attended to office-work.

Your letter concedes that the book does indeed, as charged, misrepresent or conceal the facts as to provisions and operation of the Gentlemen's Agreement and as to Japan's policy and activities during the present century; also that we were right in questioning the procedure under which material for the book was gathered under auspices of the Society for International Cultural Relations of Japan; and you advise that use of the book has been discontinued, and a new unit written with aid of American authors.

You are kind enough to say that we did a service in pointing out those and similar errors and that you are grateful therefor. You feel, however that this committee has taken unnecessary steps in giving the subject wide publicity before assuring itself as to whether the I.P.R. executives "are earnestly seeking accuracy". You feel too that we "on several occasions have engaged in a crusade against one or other of your projects and by implication against the entire organization." In justice to this committee and with a frankness inspired by your own permit me to call your attention to the facts, and to suggest that careful consideration will perhaps induce you to withdraw that criticism.

The California Joint Immigration Committee is maintained by its supporting organizations--California bodies of the American Legion, Federation of Labor, Native Sons--for the purpose of defending and promoting effective operation of the law excluding from permanent settlement aliens ineligible to American citizenship. That law is the only effective barrier against peaceful penetration by the unassimilable races of Asia; and the California Joint Committee is performing without compensation to its members a valuable service to state and nation. Like any other agency performing a similar service it must at times take steps or offer criticism which run counter to the views or interests of some individuals or groups.

Japan in recent years has sought, with aid of American friends, many of them acting innocently, to undermine that law and secure entrance for her immigrants by a system of propaganda designed to mislead public opinion. That program culminated in a bold plan to introduce into our public school system, under the guise of study of Pacific Relations and Japanese culture courses and text books which would convert American students to the Japanese point of view. The plan was frankly outlined in the Japan Times in December, 1934, and in the utterances of Japanese officials, as publicly charged and not denied. The text book introduced under auspices of the I.P.R. in Hawaii offers a striking illustration of the plan and the methods followed.

The book and the plan were subjects of protest before the Commissioners of Education of the Territory in December, 1934, and of petition to the Legislature in

March, 1935. The protest suppressed and the petition pigeonholed, the covered in reports of the news agencies. Use of the book in Honolulu continued and the co-author, a representative of the I.P.R., was sent to Columbia University at New York to secure endorsement for its use in the public schools of continental United States. On June 21, 1935, the Joint Committee filed with the State Superintendent of Public Instruction of California a statement of the case, and copies thereof were sent to the San Francisco headquarters of the I.P.R. and to the Superintendent of Public Instruction of Hawaii.

In July the representative of the I.P.R., still at Columbia University, defended the book in a published interview, the press in Hawaii abused the Joint Committee for calling attention to the facts, while the executives of the I.P.R. said nothing and, so far as this committee was advised at the time, did nothing. Finally a statement of the case was mailed to each of some 200 members of the American Council I.P.R., and thru them presumably, the executives were induced to act.

You will recall informing a Sub-Section of the Commonwealth Club of California in February, 1936, that the I.P.R. had arranged to introduce into 152 public schools of California courses on Pacific Relations and Japanese Culture. You did not, of course, know that Japan was improving that opportunity by securing recognition in Los Angeles of a guide book for teachers in such courses prepared by an official agent of Japan and recommending K.K. Kawakami, Japan's longtime propagandist in this country, as reliable authority on history and policies of Japan; and that the Society for International Cultural Relations was providing for some leading schools of Southern California books of reference and Japanese instructors to properly inform the students.

As you know, the I.P.R., at its biennial sessions has been steadily urged by its Japanese delegates, many of whom competently represent the Society for Cultural Relations, to give consideration to such matters as "racial equality", "Universal right of migration", and "international control of immigration". At the 1935 session at Banff a resolution was offered, calling for appointment of a special committee to report on "international control of immigration". Those matters do not appear in the published proceedings, but the effects thereof can be seen in the attitude of many members of the American Council who have no opportunity to hear the other side from sources well informed thereon.

The facts above presented and the connection between them are not generally known but with the fairness of mind so evident in your letter, you will concede that anyone knowing them and concerned in protecting our public school system against foreign propaganda designed to attack national policy and national law, would reach certain conclusions and act upon them. He would feel that an author who would, either deliberately or misled by others, so falsify or misrepresent available records as was done in the Hawaiian text book, should not be permitted to take part in any way in preparation of text or reference books for use in public schools.

He would feel that an organization which, regardless of the high character of individual members thereof, was responsible for preparation and introduction of the text book referred to under the auspices and in the manner indicated by the facts, could not, with propriety, be entrusted with the duty of providing courses on Pacific Relations for use in 152 public schools of California.

He would feel that an organization which sought even by extreme publicity to prevent consummation of the plan so clearly indicated was performing a public service and should be supported therein.

It is fair to assume that you did not know, or did not realize, what certain factors within the I.P.R. organization were doing; and your letter justifies the confidence with which this frank statement of the situation, as it must appear to others, is presented for consideration.

Permit me to express personally confidence in your sincerity and admiration for your courage and spirit.

Very sincerely,

V. S. McClatchy, Exec. Secy.  
California Joint Immigration Committee



FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

APR 19 1944

- Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. E. A. Tamm \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Clegg \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Coffey \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Glavin \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Ladd \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Nichols \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Tracy \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Carson \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Hendon \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Mumford \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Jones \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Quinn Tamm \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Nease \_\_\_\_\_

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 3/10/83 BY SP8 BAK/LS

FBI RICHMOND 4-19-44

6-24 PM JBR

DIRECTOR AND SAC NEW YORK

MARE ROUTINE

RE INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS, SECURITY MATTER.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] ADVISES HILDA AUSTIN, SECRETARY, INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS, BY LETTER APRIL TENTH LAST, MADE INQUIRY AT HOTEL ROANOKE CONCERNING POSSIBILITY OF HOLDING INTERNATIONAL MEETING THERE DURING NEXT JANUARY, WITH THE EXPECTED ATTENDANCE OF APPROXIMATELY TWO HUNDRED PEOPLE REPRESENTING TEN COUNTRIES. NEW

YORK REQUESTED TO FURNISH TELETYPE SUMMARY OF DATA DEVELOPED CONCERNING ABOVE ORGANIZATION AS TO FOREIGN AFFILIATIONS AND TENDENCIES ON THE PART OF LEADERS THEREIN.

ACK IN ORDER PLS

WA 1 X 6-24 PM OK FBI WASH DC IW

NY OK FBI NYC ETC

DISC

RECORD  
MURPHY  
INDEX

100-64700-18

MAY 3 1944

*Handwritten signatures and initials: c c ladd, MAC, 5-2-44, CW*

b7C

*Handwritten: San Dally*

*Handwritten: EMM, ON*

*Handwritten initials: JGA*

100-64700-18X

RECORDED

SAC, New York

May 2, 1944

J. Edgar Hoover - Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation

INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

A review of the file on the captioned organization fails to reflect that any investigative report has been submitted by your office. It is desired that the information appearing in the files of the New York office concerning this organization be summarized and incorporated in an investigative report with the title and character set out above.

In the report, all information relative to Communist influence in this organization should be set forth and further identifying information concerning the officers should be incorporated. A copy of this report should be furnished to the Richmond Field Division in line with their teletype request of your office for information concerning the Institute of Pacific Relations.

- Tolson
- E. A. Tamm
- Clegg
- Coffey
- Glavin
- Ladd
- Nichols
- Rosen
- Tracy
- Acers
- Carson
- Harbo
- Hendon
- Huntford
- Starks
- Quinn Tamm
- Nease
- Gandy

MAY 2 1944 P.M.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 3/0/83 BY SP6 BJC/...

DEPT. OF JUSTICE

SECRET

A

80

~~SECRET~~

# Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM : SAC, WASHINGTON FIELD

SUBJECT: ~~STWARD C. CARTER~~  
 INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS  
 REGISTRATION ACT

DATE: May 5, 1944

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
 DATE 3/21/83 BY SP6BAC/ks

Reference is made to my letter dated February 12, 1944, reflecting an interview with [redacted] in the above-entitled matter, and indicating that further interview was planned [redacted] for the purpose of reviewing any documentary data he may have concerning CARTER or the Institute of Pacific Relations.

[redacted]

It is further understood at this time that the Department of Justice is giving consideration to instituting prosecutive action [redacted] under the Registration Act.

In view of this, and the further fact that it is not believed [redacted] possesses any additional data or real value in the captioned case, no further interview will be made [redacted] in this matter, unless the Bureau instructs otherwise, and this case is being considered closed.

[redacted]  
 97-461

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT  
 WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE.

100-64700-19  
 F B I  
 29 MAY 8 1944

cc-New York  
 cc-Honolulu

RECORDED & INDEXED

3/10/83  
 Classified by SP6BAC/ks  
 Declassify on: OADR

F. B. I  
 MAY 5 1944  
 WASHINGTON, D. C.

~~SECRET~~

MAY 12 1944  
 MAY 26 1944

JUN 2 1944

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

# FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Form No. 1

THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT **NEW YORK, NEW YORK**

NY FILE NO. **100-17806** **MMG**

REPORT MADE AT <b>NEW YORK, NEW YORK</b>	DATE WHEN MADE <b>6/2/44</b>	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE <b>4/28, 5/24/44</b>	REPORT MADE BY <b>[REDACTED]</b> <i>b7c</i>
TITLE <b>INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS</b>		CHARACTER OF CASE <b>INTERNAL SECURITY C</b>	

**SYNOPSIS OF FACTS:**

*b7c*  
*100-17806-1649*  
*RM 1649*  
*5-5-44*  
*9-10-44*

Information concerning Institute of Pacific Relations set out. EDWARD C. CARTER and certain members of American Council of the Institute of Pacific Relations are said to be interested in Communist organizations and activities.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE.

*3/10/83*  
Classified by *SP039/CS*  
Declassify on: **OADR**

**REFERENCE:**

*SAC-NYC*  
*4-19-44*  
*CC-ONE*  
*G-2*  
*State*  
*(7-27-44)*  
*EHW*

Bureau file 100-64700  
Teletype from the Richmond Field Division to the Bureau and New York dated April 19, 1944.  
Letter from New York to Richmond dated April 28, 1944.  
Office Memorandum from Richmond Field Division to New York dated May 15, 1944.

**DETAILS:**

*140 PR*  
*4-5-44*  
*DDC/aw*

This investigation was predicated upon information received from the Richmond Field Division by reference teletype to the effect that Miss HILDA AUSTIN, Secretary, Institute of Pacific Relations, by letter dated April 10, 1944, made inquiry at the Hotel Roanoke concerning the possibility of holding an international meeting there during January of 1945 at which time there was to be an expected attendance of approximately 200 people representing ten countries.

APPROVED AND FORWARDED: <i>[Signature]</i> SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE	DO NOT WRITE IN THESE SPACES <b>100-64700-20</b> <b>E B I</b> <b>19 JUN 5 1944</b> <b>3 33 PM '44</b> <b>EX-38</b>	RECORDED & INDEXED <b>21</b>
COPIES OF THIS REPORT <b>5</b> Bureau <b>2</b> Richmond <b>4</b> New York	<b>COPY IN FILE</b>	

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NY 100-17808

*Done*

The files of this office reflect that the Institute of Pacific Relations is a corporation organized under the laws of the State of New York, February 20, 1939, as a non-profit organization. It has a board of 51 trustees, the officers for the most part being prominent in banking, educational and political circles in the United States. Prior to the war it had eleven councils, each representing a different country holding possessions in the Pacific. The American Council of the Institute of Pacific Relations is located in New York City.

The organization was formed for the study of the peoples of the Pacific and their mutual relations. It is an international body, and each of the national organizations, or councils, contributes to the support of the governing international body. Its administrative work is carried on by a small international secretariat, which is temporarily in New York City. In connection with this work, research and survey are undertaken, the results of which are published in a fortnightly periodical known as "Far Eastern Survey". Each of the ten existing councils are independent of each other, and each is governed generally by the national policy of the country in which it is located. Prior to the war Japan was represented and had, in fact, sent one MATSUHEI MATSUO in December 1940, as a representative of the Japanese Council to act as International Secretary of the Institute of Pacific Relations at \$250 per month. Mr. MATSUO has since returned to Japan on the M/V GRIPSHOLM.

Miss HILDA AUSTERN, Assistant Treasurer of the Institute of Pacific Relations, advised the writer that the organization is an international, non-political, non-official, and non-profit organization which was founded in Honolulu by a group of people from several countries bordering on the Pacific who decided that some unofficial body was needed wherein representative citizens of nations with interests in the Pacific could exchange opinions and conduct research on their common problems. When the war started, the offices of the Institute were moved to the United States, the present address of which is 1 East 54th Street, New York City. Before Pearl Harbor, there were eleven national councils, as follows:

Australia - Australian Institute of International Affairs  
Canada - Canadian Institute of International Affairs  
China - China Council, Institute of Pacific Relations  
France - Comite D'Etude des Problemes du Pacifique  
Great Britain - Royal Institute of International Affairs  
Japan - Japanese Council, Institute of Pacific Relations  
Netherlands - Netherlands Indies - Netherlands - Netherlands Indies  
Council, Institute of Pacific Relations  
New Zealand - New Zealand Institute of International Affairs  
Philippines - Philippine Institute of International Affairs  
U.S.S.R. - U.S.S.R. Council, Institute of Pacific Relations  
U.S.A. - American Council, Institute of Pacific Relations.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NY 100-17808

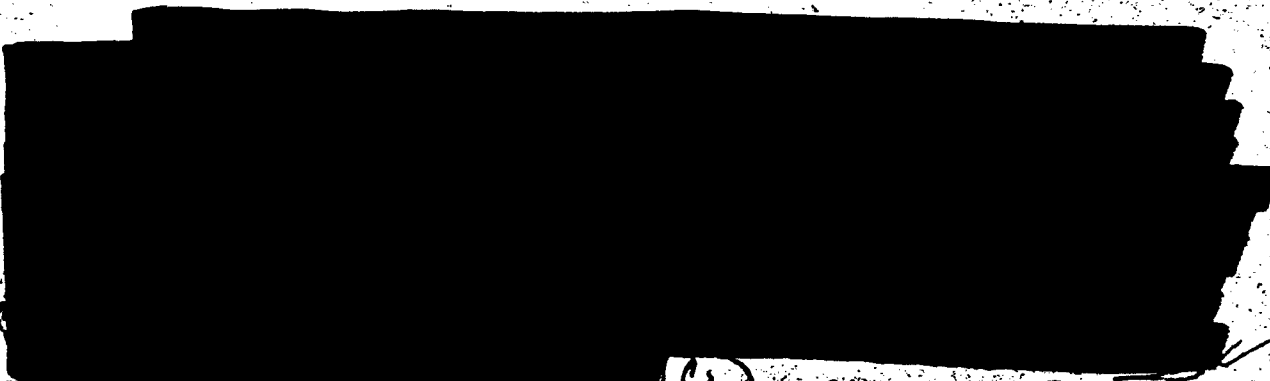
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

After Pearl Harbor there was, of course, no Japanese Council.

The Institute is supported by contributions from National Councils and from various foundations including Carnegie Foundation, Columbia Foundation, Coolidge Foundation, Rockefeller Foundation, and from various corporations. It is also supported by receipts from its various publications. Each council of the Institute is an autonomous body and cooperates with the Institute although it is not connected therewith in an official capacity.

It does not express opinions or advocate policies. The councils' researches are generally financed by an International Research Committee while the local work of the Institute is made possible by contributions from the above sources. The councils are privately financed by their own nationals and on their own part they aid in supporting the governing body which is called the Pacific Council which is composed of one representative from each of the above-named councils.

In connection with the work of the Institute, research and survey are undertaken, the results of which are published in a fortnightly periodical known as the "Far Eastern Survey". Another publication is "Pacific Affairs", a quarterly, presenting original research material from the ten countries now participating in the Institute of Pacific Relations.



According to a pamphlet of the Institute of Pacific Relations, its program combines research, discussion, and public education. Under its auspices important research projects have been undertaken: "Growth of Japanese industry, foreign investments in the Far East, government and nationalism in southeast Asia, and land utilisation in China are examples". Books are also published by the Institute, one of which is "Know Your Enemy: Japan" of which copies were taken by the Army and Navy alone numbering many thousands. Special material is assembled for businessmen, teachers, publicists, and other groups, and the Institute has become known as a primary source of information and study on the Pacific area.

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NY 100-17808

Mr. EDWARD C. CARTER is the Secretary General of the Institute of Pacific Relations and Miss HILDA AUSTERN is the Assistant Treasurer. Mr. CARTER is connected with the Russian War Relief, which, according to the files of this office, is infiltrated with known Communists, Communist leaders, fellow travelers, and front organizations. CARTER was born in Lawrence, Massachusetts on June 9, 1878 and was educated in the United States. In 1941 he was a member of the Executive Committee of the American Russian Institute.

*REFERRED*



She advised that the Japanese Council made regular yearly contributions from \$500 to \$1500 since they became a member of the Institute in 1925 or 1927; that there was no representation by the Institute of the Japanese Council but merely a membership. The contribution made in 1940 was \$1,404 and Miss AUSTERN advised that she believed this payment was cleared through the Japanese Consul and that that was the last contribution which was made. All the contributions from the various councils and other sources were placed in one fund which was used to pay the salaries of the staff of the Institute. Miss AUSTERN also advised that the Institute had written to the State Department asking if it should register and that it was advised by the State Department that it was not necessary for that organization to register.

It should further be noted that according to the files of this office, EDWARD C. CARTER, hereinbefore mentioned, has been active since 1922 in Japanese and Chinese organizations functioning in the United States, and that while connected with the Institute of Pacific Relations he maintained his headquarters for several years in Honolulu, Hawaii. CARTER also made a trip to Russia within the past few years and made two visits to Los Angeles, California, one of which was on September 22, 1941, and the second on October 8, 1941. On each trip he spent considerable time speaking and contacting prospective officials to be appointed in charge of various chapters of Russian War Relief.

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NY 100-17808

On another occasion when CARTER was asked to propose a toast he proposed a toast to the success of the Soviet resistance to the Nazis and referred to Russia as the "beloved Motherland of so many of us here tonight". In addition to being connected with the Russian War Relief, CARTER is a director of the American-Russian Institute for Cultural Relations with the Soviet Union.

From 1900 to 1902, CARTER served as graduate secretary of the Phillips Brooks House at Harvard University; from 1902 to 1908 as secretary of the National Y.M.C.A., Calcutta, India; from 1911 to 1917 as secretary of the National American Student Movement; from 1917 to 1919 as chief secretary for the A.E.F. Y.M.C.A. in Paris; from 1920 to 1922 as foreign secretary of the British Y.M.C.A. in London. Since 1922, CARTER has been very active in Japanese and Chinese organizations functioning in the United States, and particularly the Institute of Pacific Relations. While connected with this institute he maintained his headquarters for several years in Honolulu, Hawaii. In 1941 he was a member of the Executive Committee of the American-Russian Institute.

The following is a brief physical description of EDWARD C. CARTER:

Born:	June 9, 1878
Place of Birth:	Lawrence, Massachusetts
Height:	5' 8"
Weight:	150 lbs.
Build:	Medium
Complexion:	Light
Hair:	Gray
Eyebrows:	Heavy, gray
Glasses:	Wears glasses most of the time
Dress:	Well dressed

On August 8, 1941, an article appeared in the Daily Worker on the front page announcing the National Committee for Medical Aid to the Soviet Union with offices in Room 1006, 56 West 45th Street, New York City, telephone Vanderbilt 6-1796, had been created with EDWARD C. CARTER as Chairman and HARRIET MOORE as Secretary and Treasurer. The article then listed the members of the committee for Medical Aid to the Soviet Union, as well as endorsers, among which were many prominent individuals.

The Russian War Relief was incorporated under the laws of New York on September 11, 1941. This organization has been known as the National, as well as the American Committee for Medical Aid to the Soviet Union, but due to the immediate response to appeals made by the organization, larger quarters were necessary and the offices were then transferred to Room 1203, 56 West 45th Street, New York City. The organization was known at that time as the American Committee for Medical Aid to the Soviet Union. The headquarters were maintained at the above address until September 30, 1941.

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NY 100-17808

It is interesting to note that the American Russian Institute for Cultural relations with the Soviet Union occupied the 18th floor of this same building, and that this organization, the American Russian Institute for Cultural Relations with the Soviet Union, was formerly known as the American Society for Cultural Relations with the Soviet Union. It should be noted further that EDWARD C. CARTER, Chairman of the Russian War Relief, was connected therewith long before the formation of the Russian War Relief, and HARRIET MOORE, Secretary of the Russian War Relief, also fills the same capacity with the Russian Institute for Cultural Relations with the Soviet Union.

b7c The Russian War Relief held a rally at the Madison Square Garden on October 27, 1941. EDWARD C. CARTER was the Master of Ceremonies. The rally was attended by Special Agents [redacted] and [redacted] of this office. CARTER made a short opening speech describing conditions in Russia and the fight being waged by the Russian people in the defense of the democracies.

b7d [redacted]

b7d [redacted] exhibited to agents of this office a copy of a report which he had made concerning an investigation of the Russian War Relief. The report stated that EDWARD C. CARTER and HARRIET MOORE have been active in both speeches and writings to uphold Russia's policies.

b7d The following is being quoted from [redacted] report concerning EDWARD C. CARTER:

"Mr. CARTER'S reliability for the Communist Party was publicly demonstrated a number of years ago when the Moscow trials were beginning to disgust an increasing number of American liberals who had been sympathetic to the Soviet Union. A group of 'friends of the Soviet Union' arranged a meeting in Mecca Temple on March 24, 1938 where Ambassador TROYANOVSKY and others 'explained' the trial. EDWARD C. CARTER also addressed this meeting saying:

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

"When they (the Russian People) think of the trials, they are thankful that their government has at last been firm in dealing with what they regard as Fascist-supported intrigues to overthrow the Government of the Soviet Union."

"His speech, which reveals a great deal about his point of view, was printed in full in Soviet Russia Today, May, 1938. It is further significant that the pro-Communist editors of that magazine had the following to say of Mr. CARTER in the same issue:

"Dr. EDWARD C. CARTER is the Secretary-General of the Institute of Pacific Relations. He was chief secretary of the Y.M.C.A. with the American Expeditionary Force in France during the World War and later Foreign Secretary of the British Y.M.C.A. He has been decorated by a number of foreign governments for his signal contributions to international understanding. He is a frequent contributor to our leading periodicals, particularly on Eastern problems."

REFERRED

[REDACTED] (c)

REFERRED

[REDACTED] (c)

REFERRED

[REDACTED] (c)

REFERRED

[REDACTED] (c)

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NY 100-17808

[REDACTED]

REFERRED

[REDACTED]

REFERRED

b7C

The second reference letter stated that [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] advised on May 12, 1944 that he had been informed by HILDA AUSTERN that the Institute of Pacific Relations could not await further a reply from him concerning the availability of the Hotel Roanoke for their meeting in January 1945, and indicated that the meeting had now been scheduled for the Homestead Hotel, Hot Springs, Virginia, commencing January 5, 1945.

This case is being closed subject to being reopened if the Bureau desires the Richmond Field Division to cover the meeting of subject organization commencing January 5, 1945.

C L O S E D

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

b7c

RECORDED 100-64700 - 20

BAC - New York City

July 27, 1944

John Edgar Hoover - Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation

EX-119

INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

b7c Reference is made to the report of Special Agent [redacted] relative to the captioned organization, dated June 2, 1944, at New York City.

A review of this report fails to indicate that a complete list of the officers of this organization has been obtained. No list of sponsors appears in the report.

It is desired that this case be re-opened to obtain this information, as well as data relative to any recent activities in which this organization has engaged.

This matter should be given prompt attention, and a report should be submitted within the very near future.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 3/10/83 BY SP6BJA/CL

JUL 27 5 57 PM '44

RECEIVED READING ROOM

F. B. I.  
U. S. DEPT. OF JUSTICE

650  
11

- Mr. Tolson
- Mr. E. A. Tamm
- Mr. Clegg
- Mr. Coffey
- Mr. Glavin
- Mr. Ladd
- Mr. Nichols
- Mr. Rosen
- Mr. Tracy
- Mr. Mohr
- Mr. Carson
- Mr. Hendon
- Mr. Mumford
- Mr. Jones
- Mr. Quinn Tamm
- Mr. Nease
- Miss Gandy

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION  
MAILED 1  
★ JUL 28 1944 P.M.  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

DEPT. OF JUSTICE  
RECEIVED  
JUL 28 5 00 PM '44

*Ed*

*Hume*

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50 AUG 3 1944 35



Federal Bureau of Investigation

United States Department of Justice  
Newark, 2, New Jersey

*Jan* b7c



100-12837

May 24, 1944

DIRECTOR, FBI

RE: FOREIGN INSPIRED AGITATION  
OF AMERICAN NEGROES IN THE  
NEWARK FIELD DIVISION  
(Bureau file 100-135)

Dear Sir:

Information has been obtained by the Newark Field Division that the AMERICAN COUNCIL INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS, 129 East 52nd Street, New York City, has been mailing literature to Social Science teachers in New Jersey high schools over a period of time. This literature states that the INTERNATIONAL SECRETARIAT AND PUBLICATIONS OFFICE of the institution is also located at the above address in New York City.

The literature advertises books and publications put out by this body, many of them apparently with an international racial angle. It has been noted that PEARL S. BUCK wrote a forward for the Spring, 1943 list of publications issued in pamphlet form by this organization.

Indices of the Newark Field Division are negative on the INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS.

These facts are being transmitted for information purposes.

Very truly yours,

S. K. MCKEE  
Special Agent in Charge

cc  
1-New York Field Division

RECORDED

INDEXED

100-64700-21

32 MAY 29 1944



54 JUN 9 1944

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 3/10/83 BY 86 Bg/CS

b7c

GS: [redacted]

July 19, 1944

Mr. J. F. Buckley

G. Stetter

ARCHIVES OF THE FORMER JAPANESE  
CONSULATES IN THE UNITED STATES  
ESPIONAGE - J

The New York Field Division secured information from the files of the Japanese Consulate and several Japanese dominated organizations in New York City indicating that two to three hundred individuals and organizations received payments from these Japanese bodies. Preliminary investigations were conducted of a number of the persons listed as payees and separate cases were opened on them. It developed that many of the subjects had been repatriated and that quite a few were duly registered or notified pursuant to the Registration Acts.

A complete list of the subjects was furnished to the Washington Field Division in order that a single check might be made of the files of the State Department and the Department of Justice concerning repatriation, notification and registration. A letter from the Washington Field Division supplying information with reference to these matters, bearing serial #65-47083-30, concerning 218 subjects, is attached and it is felt that the information in the letter should be incorporated in each of the case files.

RECOMMENDATION: It is suggested that this memorandum be mimeographed and that one copy of the letter from the Washington Field Division be cut up in strips and stapled to it to be placed in the appropriate case files concerning the subjects.

Attachment

1. INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS  
No record of registration or notification.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 3/14/83 BY SP6 BJS/US

RECORDED

100-64700-3  
INVESTIGATION  
JUL 31 1944  
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

62 AUG 9 1944 176

Original filed in 65-47083-

100-64700

SAC - New York City

October 3, 1944

John Edgar Hoover - Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation

INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 3/0/83 BY SP6 BJA/CJ

It is desired that you refer to the Bureau's letter of July 27, 1944, and advise exactly what steps you have taken to comply with the Bureau's instructions contained in the letter of reference.

Mr. Tolson  
Mr. E. A. Tamm  
Mr. Clegg  
Mr. Glavin  
Mr. Ladd  
Mr. Nichols  
Mr. Rosen  
Mr. Tracy  
Mr. Carson  
Mr. Egan  
Mr. Gurnea  
Mr. Hendon  
Mr. Pennington  
Mr. Quinn  
Mr. Nease  
Miss Gandy

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100-64700-23  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
OCT 4 1944  
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION  
MAILED 8  
OCT 3 1944 P.M.  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
6206

*Handwritten signatures and initials:*  
an  
Ray  
Sh  
C

# FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Form No. 1  
THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT **NEW YORK, NEW YORK**

NY FILE NO. **100-17808 MPB**

REPORT MADE AT <b>NEW YORK, NEW YORK</b>	DATE WHEN MADE <b>11-4-44</b>	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE <b>9-26, 30; 10-10, 13-44</b>	REPORT MADE BY <b>b7c</b>
TITLE <b>INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS</b>			CHARACTER OF CASE <b>INTERNAL SECURITY - C</b>

*referred  
to 1/15/53  
m  
4-5-51  
m*

*b7c*

Information concerning officers of subject organization set out. This organization is not sponsored by any specific person, group, or organization.

**ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 3/10/83 BY SP6 BJA/CL**

REFERENCE: *b7c*

Bureau File 100-64700  
Report of Special Agent dated  
June 3, 1944, at New York, New York  
Bureau letter dated July 27, 1944.

DETAILS:

*100-102 State Dept.  
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At New York, New York  
Information concerning EDWARD C. CARTER was set forth  
in reference report.

APPROVED AND FORWARDED <i>E. C. Conroy</i>	SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE	DO NOT WRITE IN THESE SPACES <b>100-17808-24</b>	RECORDED & INDEXED <b>105</b>
COPIES OF THIS REPORT 6-Bureau 1-Richmond (Info.) 4-New York		COPIES DESTROYED	

**JAN 9 - 1945**



b7d [REDACTED]

b7d [REDACTED] that he had known of the INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS FOR THE past several yearl and believed that it was known all over the world as an organization whose activities were open and above board. He stated EDWARD C. CARTER, the Secretary-General, was head of the international office and prior to his affiliation with the subject organization he worked in India, France, and other countries as a representative of the YMCA. He stated representatives of the State Department and other Governmental Bureaus were present at their conferences which are held every two or three years. He further advised that ADMIRAL YARNELL used to be active in the organization. He stated all meetings are closed but that officials of the State Department are always invited. He stated the main work of the organization is research concerning holdings in the Pacific and problems concerning the Far East. He stated so far as he knew the organization had no specific sponsors either individuals or organizations, but that it received contributions from the Carnegie Foundation and the Rockefeller Institute. Its chief research man, according to this informant, is WILLIAM HOLLAND.

b7d [REDACTED]

b7d [REDACTED] on the subject organization, which disclosed the following.

OFFICERS AND PRINCIPAL EMPLOYEES

EDWARD C. CARTER, Secretary-General  
WILLIAM L. HOLLAND, International Research Secretary  
JOHN B. CONDLIFFE, Chairman of International Research Committee  
EDGAR J. FARR, position not stated  
K. C. LI, Chairman of International Finance Committee  
HILDA AUSTERN, Assistant Treasurer  
SIR FREDERICK WHYTE, Chairman of International Program Committee

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PAID STAFF - (POLICY AND RESEARCH)

T. A. BISSON  
R- RALPH J. BUNCHE (Colored)  
RUTH D. CARTER  
FRANCES FRIEDMAN  
Y. Y. HSU  
AUGUSTA JAY

WILLIAM C. JOHNSTONE  
T- DANIEL HONG LEW  
DANIEL J. GRAJDANZEV  
T- ROSE YARDUMIAN  
T- JOHN K. FAIRBANK  
T- WILMA FAIRBANK

Of the above listed officers and employees, this informant stated BUNCHE; LEW; YARDUMIAN; and WILMA and JOHN FAIRBANK were temporary employees, doing research work. Informant stated all of the meetings of the organization used to be held in Hawaii and that the organization has had eight or nine general conferences, the last one having been held in December 1942. The next general conference will be held at Hot Springs, Virginia, in January 1945. They sometimes hold a preview for official people and ADMIRAL YARNELL and STANLEY HORNBECK are two prominent persons who have attended many of its functions.

This informant stated it is an organization for the educational study of problems in the Pacific; that most of the members and persons connected with the organization are Liberal and Forward looking people, although he did not believe them to be Communistic. He stated their main purpose was to discover things lacking in the Pacific and to take some action to remedy the deficiencies. The last conference was number eight, which was held at Mont Tremblant, P. Q., Canada, December 4, 1942 to December 14, 1942.

b7d [REDACTED] that the above mentioned conference at Mont Tremblant was attended by the following:-

<u>NAME</u>	<u>ACTIVITIES</u>
PHILIP C. JESSUP	Former Chairman of the PACIFIC COUNCIL of the INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS, who was a professor of International Law at Columbia University; Assistant Solicitor United States Department of State - 1924-25; Assistant to ELIHU ROOT; Conference of Jurists at Permanent Court of International Justice - 1929; Lecturer at Academy of International Law, The Hague - 1929; Legal advisor to American Ambassador to Cuba - 1930; Service with A.E.F. World

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NAME

PHILIP C. JESSUP (Cont.)

ACTIVITIES

War I; Member Executive Committee, Harvard Research in International Law; Author:- "The Law of Territorial Waters and Maritime Jurisdiction" - 1927; "The United States and the World Court" - 1929; "American Neutrality and International Policy" - 1928; "International Security" - 1935; "The Life of ELIHU ROOT" - 1938

~~W. NORMAN BROWN~~

Consultant on India, Office of Strategic Services; Professor of Sanskrit, University of Pennsylvania; In India for research 1922-24, 1928-29, 1934-35; Professor of English, Prince of Wales College, Jammu, India, 1923-24.

~~RALPH J. BUNCHE~~

b7d  
As appears above, this individual is on the paid staff of the subject organization. [REDACTED] that he is senior social analyst on Colonial Affairs, Office of Strategic Services; Professor and head of Department of Political Science, Howard University, Washington, D.C. Social Science Research Council Post-Doctorate Fellow; 1936-38 engaged in field research in Africa and the Netherlands East Indies. Author:- "A World View of Race". The files of the New York Office reflect that he was contributing editor to "Science and Society," Marxian Quarterly during the period 1936 to 1940. This was a book review of research memorandum on minority peoples in the depression. The files of this office do not reflect any further information concerning this individual.

~~FRANK COE~~

Assistant to the Executive Director, Board of Economic Warfare; Assistant Director, Division of Monetary Research, Treasury Department.

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<u>NAME</u>	<u>ACTIVITIES</u>
<del>LAUCHLIN CURRIE</del>	Administrative Assistant to the President of the United States.
<del>LEE DE CAUX</del>	Publicity Director, CIO; Editor CIO News; In charge of Washington Bureau of Federated Press - 1934-35; earlier correspondent for Federated Press and other American papers in England, France, and Germany.
<del>TYLER BENNETT</del>	Formerly Historical Adviser to the Department of State; Professor of International Relations at Princeton University; President Williams College; Carnegie visitor to Australia and New Zealand. Author: "Americans in Eastern Asia;" "Roosevelt and the Russo-Japanese War;" "Biography of JOHN HAY."
<del>EDWIN R. EMBREE</del>	President JULIUS ROSENWALD FUND, Chicago; Vice President and Director Division of Human Biology, Rockefeller Foundation, 1917-28, during which time he made five trips to Pacific areas. Author: "Island India Goes to School."
<del>BROOKS EMEY</del>	Director of Foreign Affairs Council, Cleveland; Carnegie Fellow in International Law, 1924-27; Lecturer in International Relations, Yale University, 1927-33; Associate Professor of International Relations, Western Reserve University since 1935; Foreign Policy advisor to WENDELL WILLKIE, Campaign of 1940. Advisor, Inter-American Affairs, Division of Cultural Relations; Author: "Strategy of Raw Materials: A Study of America in Peace and War."

NAME

FREDERICK V. FIELD

ACTIVITIES

Chairman Editorial Board, "Amerasia"; Member of staff, Council for Pan American Democracy; Member Editorial staff of "New Masses"; Member Executive Committee AMERICAN COUNCIL OF THE INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS; Secretary of the INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS, 1934-1940; Author:- "American Participation in the China Consortium"; Editor:- "Economic Handbook of the Pacific Area" - 1934; General Editor:- "Economic Survey of the Pacific Area"- 1942.

The files of the New York Field Division reflect the following information concerning Mr. FIELD:-

He is listed as assistant editor of "New Masses"; Chairman of the Editorial Board of "Amerasia," which was founded by FIELD. He writes a weekly column as a guest editor in the "Daily Worker". He is provisional secretary of the Board of Directors of the Jefferson School for Social Science; executive vice president of the Council for Pan American Democracy, 23 West 26 Street.

He attended the Communist Party National Convention at Riverside Plaza Hotel, New York City, May 20, 1944; also the COMMUNIST POLITICAL ASSOCIATION rally at Madison Square Garden, May 23, 1944. He contributed substantial sums to the COUNCIL FOR PAN AMERICAN DEMOCRACY; THE INTERNATIONAL LABOR DEFENSE; AMERICAN COMMITTEE FOR THE PROTECTION OF THE FOREIGN BORN; NATIONAL FEDERATION FOR CONSTITUTIONAL LIBERTIES; NATIONAL NEGRO CONGRESS; JEWISH PEOPLES COMMITTEE; COMMITTEE OF JEWISH WRITERS AND ARTISTS; and the AMERICAN RUSSIAN INSTITUTE.

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NAME

ACTIVITIES

FREDERICK V. FIELD (Cont.)

Mr. FIELD advised Agents of the Miami Field Division that in 1940 he was executive secretary of AMERICAN PEACE MOBILIZATION, which was dissolved in July 1941; that from July 26, 1943 to August 1, 1943, he attended the Convention of the executive council of the CONFEDERATION OF LATIN-AMERICAN WORKERS IN HAVANA, CUBA. He was co-Chairman of the CITIZENS NONPARTISAN COMMITTEE FOR THE ELECTION OF BEN DAVIS, JR., successful Communist candidate for the New York City Council.

REFERRED

Mr. FIELD advised Agents of the Miami Field Division that he worked for the INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS from 1929 to the Fall of 1940 as secretary of the Research Committee.

At the present time, Mr. FIELD is the executive secretary of the AMERICAN COUNCIL OF THE INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS, which is an autonomous group separate and distinct from the INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS or the PACIFIC COUNCIL thereof.

✓ MAXWELL M. HAMILTON

Chief of the Division of Far Eastern Affairs, Department of State; Entered American Foreign Service 1920.

✓ FRANCIS BURTON HARRISON

Special Advisor to the President of the Philippines - 1942; Member of the United States House of Representatives 1902-15; Governor General of the Philippine Islands 1913-21.

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NAME

ACTIVITIES

~~STANLEY K. HORNBECK~~

Adviser on Political relations, Department of State; formerly chief, Division of Far Eastern Affairs, Department of State; member of the staff of the American delegation to the Paris Peace Conference, Washington Conferences on Limitation of Armaments and Problems of the Pacific; Peking Conference on Chinese Customs Tariff; and the Brussels Conference; Author:- "Contemporary Politics in the Far East;" "China Today:- Political;" "The United States and the Far East".

~~BENJAMIN H. KIZER~~

Member of law firm of GRAVES, KIZER AND GRAVES; Chairman Region No. 9, New York Resources Planning Board; Associate member of the War Labor Board; Chairman West Coast Lumber Committee, War Labor Board; Vice chairman of the AMERICAN COUNCIL OF THE INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS.

The files of the New York Office reflect that BENJAMIN H. KIZER is listed as a member of the Board of Directors of RUSSIAN WAR RELIEF.

REFERRED

~~OWEN LATTIMORE~~

Political advisor to GENERALISSIMO CHIANG KAI-SHEK; formerly editor of Pacific Affairs and director of the Walter Hines Page School of International Relations, Johns Hopkins University. Author:- "Desert Road to Turkestan"; "Manchuria, Cradle of Conflict"; "Mongols of Manchuria"; "Inner Asian Frontiers of China".

The files of the New York Office reflect that Mr. LATTIMORE is former editor of "Pacific Affairs," the publication of the INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS, and was appointed President Roosevelt's personal advisor to CHIANG KAI-SHEK.

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NAME

ACTIVITIES

Major General ~~FRANK B. MCCOY~~,  
United States Army, Retired

President Foreign Policy Association, A.D.C. to General WOOD in the Philippines, 1903-06 in connection with the exploitation of the Moros; also Acting Governor of the Moro Province; member of WOOD-FORBES Special Commission to the Philippines - 1921; later assistant to GENERAL WOOD; Governor General of the Philippines; In charge of American relief activities in Japan following earth quake of 1923; American member of the League of Nations Commission of Inquiry in Manchuria, 1932.

~~EDGAR A. MOWBR~~

Foreign correspondent of the Chicago Daily News; employed by the Office of War Information 1942.

It is to be noted that this individual is now believed to be connected with the "New York Post," a New York daily newspaper and is not believed to be presently employed by OWI.

HARRIET L. MOORE

Executive Director, AMERICAN-RUSSIAN INSTITUTE, New York. In 1942 was a member of the International Secretariat of the INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS\*

ARTHUR H. PAGE

Vice President American Telephone and Telegraph Company; trustee Carnegie Corporation of New York and Metropolitan Museum of Art.

LEO PASVOLSKY

Special Assistant to the Secretary of State.

C. F. KEMER

Chief of the Far Eastern Section, Office of Strategic Services; instructor and professor of Economics, St. Johns University, Shanghai, 1912-15 and 1917-20; director



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<u>NAME</u>	<u>ACTIVITIES</u>
C. F. REMER (Cont.)	of a study of International Economic Relations of China for the Social Science Research Council 1928-1931; Member of the American Economic Mission to the Far East, 1935. Author: "The Foreign Trade of China," 1926; "American Investments in China," 1929; "Foreign Investments in China," 1933; "A Study of Chinese Boycotts," 1933, with W. B. PALMER.
BORIS SHISHKIN	Economist, American Federation of Labor; Research Assistant, Department of Political Science, Columbia University 1931-33 Author:- "Manchurian Crisis," 1932
JAMES H. SHOEMAKER	Chairman Board of Review of the Enemy Branch Board of Economic Warfare; formerly assistant professor of Economics, Brown University.
MICHAEL STRAIGHT	Editor and Washington correspondent of the "New Republic;" formerly with the European Division of the Department of State and assistant to the Economic advisor. Author of forthcoming book entitled, "Make this The Last War."
ELBERT D. THOMAS	United States Senator from Utah, elected November 8, 1932, reelected November 8, 1938; formerly professor of Political Science, University of Utah. Missionary in Japan, 1907-12. Vice President American Society of International Law. American member, International Commission for the Adjustment of disputes between South Africa and the United States. Author:- "Chinese Political Thought," 1927; "Thomas Jefferson, World Citizen," 1942.

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<u>NAME</u>	<u>ACTIVITIES</u>
JACOB VIKER	Professor of Economics, University of Chicago; visiting professor of Economics, Yale University, 1942-43; Economic Advisor, Treasury Department; Assistant to Secretary of Treasury Department, 1934. Author:- "Sections on History of Tariff Relations of Australia, New Zealand, Philippines, in the United States Tariff Commission;" "Report on Colonial Tariff Policies," 1924.
BRAYTON WILBUR	President, Wilbur-Ellis Company, Importers, San Francisco. President Connell Brothers Company, Ltd. (formerly maintaining offices in Shanghai, Hongkong, Manila, Singapore, and Penang). Member of the Executive Committee of the San Francisco Division of the American Council of the INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS.
ADMIRAL HARRY E. YARNELL, United States Navy Retired	Now on active duty in Washington, D. C. Commander-in-Chief, U. S. Asiatic Fleet, 1936-1939.

INFORMATION CONCERNING OFFICERS AND PAID STAFF  
OF INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS

<u>NAME</u>	<u>ACTIVITIES</u>
J. B. CONDLIFFE	Chairman of International Research Committee. Professor of Economics, University of California; University Professor of Commerce, London School of Economics 1937-39; Professor of Economics, Canterbury College, 1920-1926; Research Secretary of the INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS, 1927-31; visiting professor of Economics, University of Michigan, 1930-31; Economic Intelligence Service, League of Nations, 1931-1936; Author:- "The Life of Society," 1922; "A Short History of New Zealand," 1928; "Problems of the Pacific," 1933; "World Economic Survey," 1931-32, 32-33, 33-34, 34-35, 35-36, 36-37. Advisor to the International Secretariat Inquiry of the INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS.

NY 100-17808

NAME  
EDGAR J. TARR

ACTIVITIES  
Chairman of the INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS; former chairman of the Finance Committee of the Institute of Pacific Relations. President, Research Life Assurance Company; Director, Bank of Canada; honorary president, Canadian Institute of International Affairs; chairman of the Program Committee of the Mont Tremblant Conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations. The files of the New York Field Division reflect that in 1939, Mr. TARR was designated as King's Counsel, Doctor of Laws; member of law firm of Craig, Tarr, Hughes, and MacLeod.

K. C. LI

Chairman of International Finance Committee of the INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS; Governor, Commodity Exchange, New York; Chief Engineer, Tungsten Mexicano, S.A., Mexico. Chief Engineer, National Reconditioning Company, New York. Chairman Wah Chang Trading Corporation, New York. Advisor Chinese Embassy, Washington, D.C. Member, Chinese Delegation to Preliminary Conference on International Fund, Washington, D. C. Member, Visiting Committee on Far East Civilizations at Harvard, 1940-41. Co-author: "Tungsten: Its History, Geology, Ore-Dressing, Metallurgy, Chemistry, Analysis, Applications and Economics," 1943.

b7c  
SIR FREDERICK WYTE, K.C.S.I.

Chairman of the International Program Committee of the INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS. Convener of Discussion Meetings and Chairman of Far Eastern Group at the Royal Institute of International Affairs. Former Liberal member of Parliament 1910-18; President Indian Legislative Assembly, 1920-25.

NY 100-17808

SIR FREDERICK WHITE, K.C.S.I. (Cont.) Political advisor to the National Government of China, 1929-32; Director General English Speaking Union in London from 1928 to 1939, and Head of the American Division, Ministry of Information from 1939-40. Author:-

"Asia in the Twentieth Century," 1926;  
"China and Foreign Powers," 1927;  
"The Future of East and West," 1932;  
"Japan's Purpose in Asia," 1941;  
"India, A Bird's Eye View," 1942.

The files of the New York Field Division do not reflect any additional information concerning Mr. WHITE.

No further information was contained in the Who's Who of the INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS was available concerning the other members of the paid staff of subject organization other than that which has been hereinabove set forth.

The files of this office reflect the following information concerning one FRANCIS FRIEDMAN, who may or may not be identical with the FRANCES FRIEDMAN herein above listed as one of the members of the paid staff under Policy and Research.

b7d  
b7c  
[REDACTED]

b7c  
[REDACTED]

It is not known whether this individual is identical with the FRANCES FRIEDMAN, who is an employee of the INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS.

b2 [redacted] advised Miss FRIEDMAN was secretary and editorial assistant to the International Research secretary and secretary to the editor of Pacific Affairs Committee.

b7c The files of this office reflect the following information concerning T. A. BISSON, on the paid staff of subject organization doing research work. He was born [redacted] and resides at [redacted]

He was an Economist, Board of Economic Warfare and employed by the Foreign Policy Association from 1928-1942 as authority on Chinese and Japanese matters. He received the A. M. degree of Columbia University, 1925. He lived in China from 1924 to 1928 and taught at Yeng Cheng University, Peking. He returned to China in 1937 with Rockefeller Foundation Backing. Foreign Policy Association officials describe him as,

"Ardent anti-Japanese and anti-Fascist, but a loyal American, with radical Left Wing Tendencies."

He is reported not to be a member of the Communist Party of the United States, but sympathetic toward the Communist cause as a result of his experiences in China. He was sympathetic with Loyalist Spain and justified the Soviet pact with Germany, but on that subject, did an about fact when Germany attacked Russia. He was reported to be the author of numerous books on China and Japan. All of his writings are reported to be factual and objective, leaving little room for personal political viewpoints. The New York Files further reflect he was sponsor of American Committee for anti-Nazi Literature, 1938; member advisory board, Friends of Chinese People; sponsor of the Committee for Boycott against Japanese Agression, 1941; member of Committee National Boycott against aggressor Nations. He was reported to be a member of the League Against War and Fascism; and the American War for Peace and Democracy. He is alleged to have organized Local No. 18, Book and Magazine Union of the U.O.W.P.A. at the Foreign Policy Association. The New York Times for August 14, 1939 states that he signed an open letter advocating cooperation between the United States and the Soviet.

b2 [redacted] advised Agents of this office that BISSON was considered pro-Communist while he was in China and that his thinking was "far to the Left."

Mr. BISSON stated in an application for a scholarship to China in 1937 that one of the purposes of the trip was to study,

"the strength and activities of Chinese Communists and National Movement stimulated by student demonstrations."

NY 100-17808

On his return to China, he wrote, "Japan in China," in 1938. The files of this office further reflect that from a review of the personnel file of the Board of Economic Warfare, Washington, D. C., it was ascertained Mr. BISSON was appointed principal Economic Analyst in the Far Eastern Division of Economic Warfare Analysis Section - Board of Economic Warfare, on January 22, 1942.

b2 [REDACTED] It was claimed by the investigating committee of [REDACTED] that Mr. BISSON was sponsor of the AMERICAN LEAGUE FOR PEACE AND DEMOCRACY, (which BISSON denied); that he was contributor to "Soviet Russia Today," was a speaker at the Fourth National Convention of American Student Union, one of the Fronts of the Communist Party; that he was a member of the American Committee for anti-Nazi Literature - Daily Worker, May 4, 1938; sponsor of Boycott Japanese Goods Conference - Daily Worker, January 11, 1938; sponsor of New York City Conference against War and Fascism - Daily Worker, January 11, 1937; member of Thaelman International Relief Committee, according to the International Press Correspondence, volume 15, number 50, dated October 5, 1935; speaker at the American Student Union, Fourth National Convention - Student Almanac 1939; Speaker First Anniversary of China's Resistance to Japanese Aggression, sponsored by China Rally Committee - Leaflet "Rally for China," member of the National Board of American Committee for Nonparticipation in Japanese Aggression. (Mr. BISSON advised Agents of the Washington Field Division that Honorable HENRY L. STIMSON was honorary chairman of that organization until he became Secretary of War.) BISSON was signer of an open letter for closer cooperation with the Soviet Union - "Soviet Russia Today," September 1938 and signer of Appeal of Committee for Boycott versus Jap Aggression - Daily Worker, February 25, 1938.

b2 The files of the New York Office further reflect that [REDACTED] [REDACTED] furnished the following information concerning Mr. BISSON. As of September 24, 1941, the name T. A. BISSON appeared as a member of the National Advisory Board of American Friends of the Chinese People, 1940-1942. This organization is reported as being the official Chinese branch of the Communist Party in the United States. The deputy council of the Chinese Consul General's office in New York City is alleged to have stated that the organization last above mentioned was in his opinion "Left Wing" and that he was not aware of any protection, drives or benefits conducted by it on behalf of the Chinese people. That organization puts out a monthly publication entitled, "China Today," and carries the name of BISSON as a member of the Editorial Board. He was a member of the Editorial Board, 1942 of "Amerasia," said to be Communistic and he is now engaged full time by the INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS as a specialist on Far Eastern Relations.

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b2 [REDACTED] advised HILDA AUSTERN herein above mentioned as Assistant treasurer, is secretariat administrative officer, and has charge of production and distribution of all secretariat publications and has aided in editorial work and research.

b2 [REDACTED] advised RUTH D. CARTER is secretary to the Secretary-General, EDWARD C. CARTER, whom he believed was her father.

This informant further advised ANDREW J. GRAJDANZEV is Russian, and is on the Research Staff. He has written the books, "Formosa Today;" and "Modern Korea," and is assistant professor at Oregon State College.

b2 [REDACTED] advised that Miss ROSE YARDUNIAN, who is on the paid staff, is in charge of the Office of the Pacific Council at 744 Jackson Place, N.W., Washington, D. C.

b2 [REDACTED] stated WILLIAM C. JOHNSTONE is dean at George Washington University and does research and study for the INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS.

The files of this office reflected no further pertinent information with respect to the other employees and staff members of the INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS in addition to that which has been set out in this and the reference report, [REDACTED]

REFERRED

THE INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS' most recent activity other than its continual research was an interim meeting held at the Hotel Clardige, Atlantic City, New Jersey, January 11, 1944 to January 14, 1944.

b2 [REDACTED] furnished the following information concerning this meeting. The purpose of the meeting was the reexamination of the work of the Institute as a whole to reassess the research program, to coordinate the work of the various national councils and to consider the agenda and personnel of the 1945 conference. In a statement issued by the INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS [REDACTED] it was stated,

b7d

"Under war conditions, it will be desirable next year to have both unofficial and official members, though as at Mont Tremblant, Government representatives will be expected to participate in their unofficial capacities. In the selection of groups, we must try to insure representation of different schools of thought."

NY 100-17908

WILLIAM L. HOLLAND, the International Research Secretary, and EDWARD C. CARTER, the Secretary-General, gave a report regarding their visits to Asia and Europe in August, September, and October of 1945. In these reports, Mr. HOLLAND mentioned only China, England, and India. CARTER mentioned China, India, and Russia. He stated members of the INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS in other countries should not expect the Soviet Institute of Pacific Relations to play an active role in the international activities of the institute at the present time because of the extreme delicacy of Russian relations with Japan and because they do not desire a two front war. In his talk, CARTER praised Russia's war efforts, production, etcetera, in connection with the prosecution of the war. The files on the interim meetings at the Hotel Claridge contained the statement that the Office of War Information is microfilming and flying to China, "Pacific Affairs," which is the quarterly publication of the INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS. It also states that the "Far Eastern Survey," which is the journal of the American Council, is being microfilmed and flown to China. It states,

"The object of the INSTITUTE is to study the conditions of Pacific peoples with a view to the improvement of their mutual relations."

Mr. CARTER said the aim of the Institute was to study problems of the Pacific from a world viewpoint and to study world problems from a Pacific point of view.

b7d  
[redacted] would believe that the INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS was started at Honolulu, Hawaii in 1925 to popularize the center of affairs at Honolulu. [redacted] that some organization, such as the Chamber of Commerce of Honolulu, was behind the organization when it began. [redacted] the first two meetings of the organization were held in Honolulu and they had later been held in Kyoto, Japan, in China, Canada, British Columbia, and the United States. [redacted] that the persons in the organization were the moving support behind it and that it had no specific sponsors [redacted] that the National Councils, including the American Council, are separately financed in their own countries and that they are separate autonomous bodies, and are not a part of the INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS, other than the fact that the Secretary-General of the Institute of Pacific Relations coordinates the work of all of the National Councils and visits the National Council regularly. [redacted] the American Council was presently instituting a drive to collect one million dollars for furtherance of its research and study program. [redacted] the subject organization, the INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS, sometimes called THE PACIFIC COUNCIL OF THE INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS, depends for its existence on the solicitation



NY 100-17608

b2 and on contributions. So far as the informant knew, there has been no more recent activity than the Interim Conference, which was held at Atlantic City. The organization is continuously doing research work and the staff of the organization writes articles for its publication, "Pacific Affairs." b7d [redacted] advised that the Carnegie Institute and the Rockefeller Foundation were the largest contributors to subject organization but that a list of all the contributors would probably include hundreds of names [redacted]

All leads having been covered in the New York Field Division, this case is being considered closed upon the authority of the Special Agent in Charge.

A copy of this report is being forwarded to the Richmond Field Division for its information in view of the fact that the Bureau may desire to have the General Conference covered. This conference is scheduled at the Homestead Hotel, Hot Springs, Virginia, commencing January 5, 1945.

- C L O S E D -

NY 100-17808

CONFIDENTIAL INFORMANTS

b7c The Confidential Informants referred to in this report of Special Agent [REDACTED] dated November 4, 1944 at New York, New York, are described, as follows:-

[REDACTED]

b7d

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

b2 [REDACTED]

General files of the Special Committee Investigating un-American Activities, House of Representatives, and the Honorable MARTIN DIES.

The files of the Committee are referred to as confidential in accordance with the custom regarding records of Government agencies.

b2

[REDACTED]

An undated memorandum from the Bureau containing information from its files concerning T. A. BISSON.

b7c

100-64700

SAC - New York City

November 11, 1944

John Edgar Hoover - Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation

INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

You are instructed to immediately refer to the Bureau's letters dated July 27, 1944, and October 3, 1944, and advise what action you have taken to comply with the Bureau's requests contained in these letters.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 3/10/83 BY SP6 BJA/CS

RECORDED

EX - 42

100-64700-25  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
NOV 14 1944  
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

DEPT. OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
RECEIVED - NY 11 NOV 14 1944

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION  
MAILED 8  
NOV 11 1944 P.M.  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

78 NOV 16 1944

*Handwritten signature*

*Handwritten initials*

Office Memorandum - UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

100-17808

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE: January 7, 1985

DATE 3/10/83 BY SP6BJA/CB

ADDITIONAL INDEXING 170

TO : Director, FBI  
FROM : SAC, New York  
SUBJECT: INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

There is being transmitted herewith a pamphlet prepared by ALFRED KOHLBERG, dealer in Chinese textiles in New York City, which contains Mr. KOHLBERG's personal analysis of his belief that the Institute of Pacific Relations has at times followed the Communist Party line.

The enclosed material was furnished to this office by [redacted]

It is being submitted for the Bureau's information on the above organization.

RECORDED & INDEXED

100-64700-29

INDEXED IN  
FBI 55 MAR 7 1945

Communist Party of China

44  
67c

[redacted] 1945

EX-118

U S G O V E R N M E N T

100-64700-29

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 3/14/83 BY SP8BJA/06

Joint statement of  
Dr. Sun Yat Sen and  
Ambassador Joffe

No Communism or  
Sovietism for China

Communist - Kuomintang  
HONEYMOON.

Chinese Eastern Ry.

Outer Mongolia

Kuomintang-Communist  
break of 1927 as told  
by Vincent Sheehan.

In January 1923 Mr. A. Joffe, Soviet Ambassador to China came to Shanghai where he met and conferred daily with Dr. Sun Yat Sen who was then in Shanghai, having suffered a defeat. The result of these negotiations was the issuance of a joint statement which is herewith given in full as this marks the first historical relationship between the Communists and the Kuomintang.

*Dr. Sun Yat Sen and Mr. A. Joffe, Russian Envoy-Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to China have authorized the publication of the following statements:*

1. Dr. Sun Yat Sen holds that the Communist order or even the Soviet system cannot actually be introduced into China because there do not exist here the conditions for the successful establishment of either Communism or Sovietism. *This view is entirely shared by Mr. Joffe, who is further of the opinion that China's paramount and most pressing problem is to achieve national unification and attain full national independence, and regarding this great task, he has assured Dr. Sun Yat Sen that China has the warmest sympathy of the Russian people and can count on the support of Russia.*
2. In order to clarify the situation, Dr. Sun Yat Sen has requested Mr. Joffe for a reaffirmation of the principles defined in the Russian Note to the Chinese Government dated Sept. 27, 1920. Mr. Joffe has accordingly reaffirmed these principles and categorically declared to Dr. Sun Yat Sen that the Russian Government is ready and willing to enter into negotiations with China on the basis of the renouncement by Russia of all the treaties and exactions which the Czarism imposed on China, including the treaty or treaties and agreements relating to the Chinese Eastern Railway (the management of which being the subject of a specific reference in Article 7 of the said Note).
3. Recognizing that the Chinese Eastern Railway question in its entirety can be satisfactorily settled only at a competent Russo-Chinese Conference, Dr. Sun Yat Sen is of the opinion that the realities of the situation point to the desirability of a modus vivendi in the matter of the present railway management and he agrees with Mr. Joffe that the existing railway management should be temporarily reorganized by agreement between the Chinese and Russian governments, without prejudice, however, to the true rights and special interests of either party. At the same time Dr. Sun Yat Sen considers that General Chang Tso-lin should be consulted on the point.
4. Mr. Joffe has categorically declared to Dr. Sun Yat Sen (who has fully satisfied himself as to this) that it is not and has never been the intention or purpose of the present Russian Government to pursue an imperialistic policy in Outer Mongolia or to cause it to secede from China. Dr. Sun Yat Sen therefore does not view an immediate evacuation of Russian troops from Outer Mongolia as either imperative or in the real interests of China, the more so on account of the inability of the present Government at Peking to prevent such an evacuation being followed by the recrudescence of intrigue and hostile activities by White Guardists against Russia and the creation of a graver situation than that which now exists. Mr. Joffe has parted from Dr. Sun Yat Sen on the most cordial and friendly terms. On leaving Japan, to which he is now proceeding, he will again visit the south of China before finally returning to Peking. Shanghai, Jan. 26, 1923.

From "Personal History" by Vincent Sheehan—page 217

"For a few months in 1927 Hankow symbolized and upheld the hope for a revolution of the world. Delegations came there from all over Europe, Asia and America to see for themselves what constituted Hankow's success, the surprise and delight of a generation of thwarted Communists. Communists everywhere regarded Hankow as not only the most conspicuous success of revolutionary technique

100-64700-29

ENCLOSURE

INDEXED IN  
PUBLICATION  
FILES

from following pages  
(217 etc)

## Communist-Kuomintang DIVORCE.

Vincent Sheehan's  
attitude not  
anti-communist.

No partition of Poland  
(see p60)

Chinese Year Book  
1938-39

Communists propose  
United Front.  
MARRIAGE  
Their proposals.

See "New Masses"

since 1927, but as the test of its success could be extended and made permanent, the victory of the International (Trotzkyist) tendency was sure; but if Hankow failed the militant world revolutionist failed as well and even in Russia the future became obscure. French Communists, German Communists, Hindoo Communists, British I L P people and numerous agitators responsible to the Comintern gave the place a fine mixed flavor of international revolt. Far away in Moscow Trotzky and Radek and others consumed with impatience were writing and speaking as if the Chinese Soviets already existed. The press of Europe and America blamed Borodin for everything that happened; and Borodin quietly slipped into the role of universal scape-goat for the Chinese revolution. The Europeans held him responsible for its successes, the Russians for its failure, the Chinese for its division into two parts.

"There is only one end to it", the Comintern people would say, "and it should have been done in April. That is: proclaim the Soviet." In four years Borodin had transformed the whole Left part of the Kuomintang into a social revolutionary movement, with Chinese and Russian agitators indefatigably at work among the workers and peasants.

The Chinese Communists were in control in Changsha and had proclaimed the dictatorship of the proletariat some weeks before. The movement was premature and badly organized; the Hankow Government was unable to support too openly a movement with which it was actually in sympathy. That Changsha Soviet was the beginning of a Chinese Communist state that was to endure against innumerable difficulties and with many territorial changes for years.

The Hankow government lasted approximately three months after the rebellion of Chiang Kai-shek. It had retained the loyalty of 21 out of the 33 members of the Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang but in military force it was weak."

NEW MASSES—Sept. 19, 1939, page 9

"Vincent Sheehan on the Soviet Pact." "(speech broadcast Sept. 4, over NBC network)"

"... it (the pact) is therefore a kind of guarantee of neutrality ... it does not essentially differ from the neutrality proclaimed by the United States. This Russian neutrality has been subjected to interpretations of three kinds.

The first is a purely cynical explanation, by which Hitler and Stalin—represented as 2 despots with a map to play with—agree on a division of empire ... a kind of childish reminiscence of the partition of Poland in the 18th Century. So far I have not seen the slightest evidence to support such a view.

A second interpretation ... is the view based on an analogy with the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk.

On the whole I think a third explanation is more sensible. This is that Soviet Russia, failing to obtain a satisfactory treaty of alliance with the Western Democracies ... took Hitler's offer as a way of preserving peace for the present."

THE CHINESE YEAR BOOK—1938-1939 Issue, pages 339 and 340  
"IV. Reconciliation with the Communists."

"The initial step in the reconciliation was taken in December, 1935 when the Communists decided to organize a People Anti-Japanese United Front. In May, 1936 they proposed to the National Government to stop civil war and exert efforts in common to resist Japanese aggression. Three months later they again made a similar request to the Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang and sent delegates to open negotiations to this effect. Concrete proposals from the Communist Party were laid before the meeting of the Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang in February, 1937. They may be summarized under the following headings.

1. The Chinese Soviet Government shall henceforth be known as the Government of the Special Area of the Republic of China, which shall be under the control of the National Government and of the National Military Council.

2. In the territory of the Government of the Special Area a democratic system of Government shall obtain.

National Govt.  
approves

Communist declaration  
Sep. 22, 1937

Chiang Kai Shek  
Comments

3. All activities designed to overthrow the National Government shall cease throughout the country.

4. The policy of land-confiscation shall be discontinued. Since these proposals show that the Communist Party had undergone a serious change of opinion in reference both to fundamental policies and to practical activities, the Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang decided that if the Communist Party was sincerely desirous of a reconciliation with the Kuomintang and would give up the former policy of armed insurrections, the National Government would welcome such a gesture. By the exchange of these historic documents, the reconciliation was finally consummated. Soon after these events, the Lukouchias Incident broke out and a general war with Japan followed. The National Government, accordingly, reorganized the Communist troops into the 8th Route Army and appointed Chu Teh and Peng Teh-huai to be its commander and vice-commander, respectively.

A further declaration was made by the Communist Party on Sept. 22, 1937, embodying the following points:

1. In order to safeguard the independence and freedom of the Chinese Nation, a national war of liberation shall be proclaimed. Only as a result of such a war can the lost provinces be restored, and the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the country be maintained.
2. A democratic form of government shall be set up; a National Convention shall be convoked to draft and promulgate a Constitution and to formulate fundamental policies for the salvation of the nation.
3. In order to promote general welfare and to make possible a life of happiness for the people, relief shall be afforded to those suffering from famine or flood, social life shall be stabilized, industries connected with national defense shall be expanded, and grievances of the people shall be redressed.
4. The Communist Party is prepared to fight for the realization of Dr. Sun Yat Sen's revolutionary principles because they answer the present day needs of China.
5. The policy of insurrections which aims at the overthrow of the Kuomintang political power, the policy of land confiscation, and the policy of communist propaganda shall all be disowned and discontinued.

6. With the disappearance of the Chinese Soviet Government, a system of political democracy shall be put into practice, so that the country may be politically united.

7. The former Red Army which has been reorganized into the 8th Route Army shall be under the control of the National Military Council, and ever ready to be sent to the front.

In response to this declaration, General Chiang Kai-shek gave the following interview to newspaper reporters on Sept. 23, 1937: "The declaration made by the Chinese Communist Party clearly shows that national interests supersede all other considerations. The points contained in it, such as the discontinuance of the policies of insurrection and communist propaganda, the disappearance of the Soviet Government, and the reorganization of the former Red Army, all tend to strengthen the National Government in its resistance to foreign invasion, and correspond to the decision of the Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang in February, 1937.

"The reference made by the Communist Party to its readiness to fight for the realization of Dr. Sun Yat Sen's revolutionary principles shows further that the efforts of the entire nation are directed to one single aim. Since the Communists have discarded their former opinions and have come to realize the importance of national interests, I hope they will sincerely carry out what is contained in the declaration and further expect that they will work in unison with the rest of the nation to accomplish the task of national salvation."

In this way did the reconciliation between the Communists and the Kuomintang come about. Thus was laid another cornerstone for the Chinese democratic edifice."



SECTION ONE: INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS  
PUBLICATIONS

1935-1936—Anti-Comintern—(Germany, Italy, Japan)—is formed.  
Communist-Popular-United Front against War & Fascism.

Learning of the secret forming of the Berlin-Rome-Tokyo Axis in 1935 (publicly announced in 1936), the Soviet Union reverses its previous policy of Communist non-cooperation with the democratic parties in Europe. In 1935 the Popular Front in Europe, the Chinese Communist proposals for a United Anti-Jap front in China, American Communist discovery of the greatness of Washington and Lincoln and that Jefferson was the first American Red, all co-incide with Russia's fear of attack by Germany from the West and Japan from the East. This period lasts until the Molotov-Ribbentrop agreement of Aug. 23, 1939. After the Feb. 1937 agreement between the Kuomintang and the Chinese Communists, neither the Communist Press nor the I.P.R. is critical of Chiang Kai-shek and the Kuomintang. Non-public statements by Chinese Communists, however, indicate it is a marriage of convenience during which they will prepare for the day when they will destroy the Kuomintang Government and seize all of China.

This comment by  
Alfred Kohlberg

Communist-Kuomintang  
Second Honey Moon

Institute of Pacific Relations publications.

See "New Masses," Dec. 29, 1936  
p. 38

FAR EASTERN SURVEY OF I P R—March 3, 1937  
"The Chinese Communists Re-emerge" by Frederick V. Field  
(page 57)

"Until the Sian incident (to which the Communists seem to have had no direct connection) brought about a new National crisis the appeals to Nanking were flatly turned down."  
"On January 29 it was credibly reported that Nanking and the local forces had signed an agreement at Tungkwan the day before by which certain areas were assigned to the 4 contending groups: The National Government, Yang Fu-Cheng, Chang Hsueh Liang and the Communists. If this information is correct it means that for the first time since 1927 the Communists have been officially recognized, the government has agreed to give up its anti-Communist campaigns, and—most important—an actual beginning to an anti-Japanese military and political front has been established."

For correct terms see p. 2

Edgar Snow  
on the  
Communist Program.

PACIFIC AFFAIRS—September, 1937, pages 266, etc.  
"SOVIET SOCIETY IN N.W. CHINA" by Edgar Snow  
"In Fundamental Laws of the Chinese Soviet Republic the First All-China Soviet Congress in 1931 set forth in detail the 'maximum program' of the Communist Party of China—and reference to it shows clearly, that the ultimate aim of Chinese Communists is a true and complete socialist state of the Marx-Leninist conception."  
"in the election of the Soviets the tenant peasants, rural workers, handicraft workers and so on were given a very much greater representation than the other categories."  
"Redistribution of land was a fundamental of Red policy". "When I traveled in the N.W. the land laws in force (promulgated by the N.W. Soviet Government in Dec. 1935) provided for the confiscation of all landlord's land and the confiscation of all land of rich peasants that was not cultivated by the owners themselves."

Edgar Snow's

Page

For sources of materials

See "New Masses" Jan. 25, 1938 p. 42

For other statements

See "New Masses" Jan. 25, 1938 p. 42

also speech of Mao Tse-tung  
Oct. 1937 p. 39

See "New Masses" Jan. 25, 1938 p. 42

Immediate Aims

Ultimate Aims

Feudalism

Not San Min Chu I

Party Program vs. Policy Program

Feudal Kuomintang

PACIFIC AFFAIRS—March, 1938

Book Review of "Red Over China" (Edgar Snow) by E. C. Carter, page 110

"It is of even greater importance as a handbook for the historian and the political scientist. Its source materials are as important for the students and statesmen of China as for those of the British Empire and the U.S.A.

"No one who knows intimately the reputation which the Reds still have in the province of Kiangai, from which they were driven in 1934, will be able to challenge his assertion: 'Millions of peasants have now seen the Red Army and heard it speak and are no longer afraid of it.'"

"Though some predict that the present United Front is an arrangement of convenience between Kuomintang bodies and Mao Tse Tung, Chu Teh, Chou En-lai and Peng Teh huai, as representing the Chinese Communist Party, others who fully appreciate the depth of the twin virtues of patriotism and realism in both Mao Tse Tung and Chiang Kai-shek believe that a long period of co-operation between these 2 men is definitely within the range of possibility, not only in war but in social reconstruction after the war is over."

PACIFIC AFFAIRS—June, 1938

Edgar Snow replies to Asiaticus, pages 244-248. Shanghai, January, 1938 (both in Shanghai)

"The aim of the driving out of imperialism, and destroying the Kuomintang" repeated Mao Tse-tung in 1934, "is to unify China, to bring the bourgeois democratic revolution to fruition, and to make it possible to turn this revolution into a higher stage of Socialist revolution. This is the talk of the Soviet."

"It was only after the submission of the Red Army last August to the high command of the Central Government—in which the hegemony was clearly not proletarian—that the Communists recognized the leadership of the bourgeoisie in the present stage (the struggle for national independence) of the still uncompleted revolution."

"As this was expressed in the Constitution of the Chinese Soviet Republic itself: 'It shall be our task to finally establish this dictatorship throughout China. It shall be the aim of this dictatorship to destroy all feudal survivals, to annihilate the might of the war lords in China (among whom the Communists then classified Chiang Kai-shek and the Kuomintang armies—E.S.) to unite China systematically, to limit the development of capitalism, to build up the economy of the state, to develop the class-consciousness and organization of the proletariat, to rally to its banner the broad masses of the village poor, in order to effect the transition to the dictatorship of the proletariat. (Italics mine.—E.S.)"

"The Communist Party will never abandon its aim of Socialism and Communism' as Mao-Tse-tung recently said:

"It will still pass through the stage of democratic revolution of the bourgeoisie to attain the stages of socialism and Communism. The Communist Party retains its own program and its own policies. The party program is socialism and communism and this is different from the San Min Chu I. Its policy program is more thorough compared with those of any other party and clique within this country, but it does not fundamentally contradict the program of San Min Chu I." "I do not claim to be a trained Marxist: I am only an amateur at theory."

Edgar Snow, Shanghai, Jan., 1938

"Asiaticus holds his Ground", page 248—June, 1938, Pacific Affairs  
"The split in the Chinese revolutionary United Front in 1927 occurred because the Kuomintang compromised with feudal forces and with imperialism and turned against the democratic forces of the workers and peasants and small bourgeoisie of the cities . . . It was the Communists who continued the fight."

"Snow has called me a theorist and he speaks of himself as an amateur. Theory is nothing but knowledge of the essential facts and knowledge of how to apply them. To be an amateur is not an advantage but a handicap, especially for a writer who has done and is doing such valuable work as Edgar Snow in the cause of China's struggle for freedom. I hope he will overcome the handicap—the sooner the better."

—Asiaticus

From March, 1938 Pacific Affairs—

"Asiaticus" is a German writer who was formerly correspondent in China of Die Weltbühne"

Free Speech

China + Spain

Democracy in Russia

victimization?

Foreign Observer of  
Communists

Sun Yat Sen  
misunderstood

Review of Pacific Digest in Pacific Affairs, September, 1938, by Owen Lattimore (editor of Pacific Affairs)

San Francisco, June, 1938

"Problems can be openly debated in the Chinese Press today that could only be whispered about by 'agitators' a couple of years ago. This is because the Chinese people have to be given liberties and land and work if they are to defend themselves with the hard unflinching courage that is necessary. China is taking its place beside Spain in devotion to the democratic faith that armies can only defeat armies and that no army can defeat a whole people in arms."  
page 410

PACIFIC AFFAIRS—September, 1938, pages 370-372

Comment and Correspondence—Owen Lattimore's reply to Wm. H. Chamberlin re Moscow Treason trials.

"The real point, of course, for those who live in democratic countries, is whether the discovery of the conspiracies was a triumph for democracy or not. I think that this can easily be determined. The accounts of the most widely read Moscow correspondents all emphasize that since the close scrutiny of every person in a responsible position, following the trials, a great many abuses have been discovered and rectified. A lot depends on whether you emphasize the discovery of the abuse or the rectification of it; but habitual rectification can hardly do anything but give the ordinary citizen more courage to protest, loudly, whenever in future he finds himself being victimized by 'someone in the Party' or 'someone in the Government'. That sounds to me like democracy."

—O. L.

PACIFIC AFFAIRS—September, 1938

"The People Behind the Chinese Guerillas" by Haldore Hanson, p. 285

"I spent 2 weeks travelling through Guerilla territory in Central Hopei in March, 1938 and brought back copies of nearly all official documents of the Government in addition to my own observations. The Central Hopei Mass Movement follows a general pattern laid down by the Communist party and followed in 7 other provinces. A British Army officer who travelled in Chekiang and an American Marine officer who visited the guerrillas in Shans ifound conditions similar to those in Hopei."

"In October, 1937 a brigade of former Warlord troops seized the walled town of Kaoyang, 80 miles south of Peiping, and began organizing a new government. The officers who took command had previously undergone Communist training. During the next 6 months of intense political activity the Japanese Army paid not the slightest attention to this potential enemy."

PACIFIC AFFAIRS—September, 1938

"Why the Chinese Communists Support the United Front"—An interview with Lo Fu by Nym Wales (Lo Fu is secretary of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party). Interviewed in Yen-an, July 14, 1937.

"Only under the leadership of the Communist Party did he (Sun Yat Sen) begin to understand the nature of the Chinese Revolution." (General statement explaining the Revolution and split between Kuomintang and Communists from Communist point of view and full of theory over my head, A. K.)

Praise of Chinese Army

PACIFIC AFFAIRS—March, 1939  
The Good Iron of the New Chinese Army—Olga Lang  
Summation. "All this does not mean the Chinese Army is already perfect. Far from it. Much remains to be done, but what is important is that the way to victory has been found."

FAR EASTERN SURVEY, March 1, 1939, page 51  
"The Anti Japanese Boycott in the U. S."—Nathan M. Becker  
"Middle class, labor and professional groups are the most active boycotters in the order named. Organizations supporting the boycott are numerous . . . as well as certain groups formed especially to promote the boycott. Of the latter, the most important are the Committee for Boycott against Japanese Aggression, and the China Aid Council of the American League for Peace and Democracy."

Passed by Japanese Censor but not noted by I.P.R.

THE NEW YORK SUN,  
THURSDAY, APRIL 6, 1939

Mop-up Makes Headway.  
TSINGTAO, China, April 6 (A. P.).—The Japanese anti-guerrilla mop-up in Shantung province and widespread efforts to instill friendship among Shantung's 28,000,000 people appear to be making headway.  
In recent weeks the striking power of the guerrillas has declined steadily, observers say, as a result of the vigorous operations of motorized Japanese columns.  
The guerrilla bands are being broken into smaller units, it is said, and pushed away from railways, highways and cities.  
It is said the Chinese warriors are suffering shortages of ammunition and equipment.  
Quick, drastic Japanese punishment also is playing an effective role. Japanese burn the village nearest any section of railroad that is attacked. As a result villagers fear to harbor the irregular Chinese fighters.  
The Japanese command has published an order that all males between the ages of 13 and 48 in such villages be executed on the assumption they aided the guerrillas.

Crop increase →

PACIFIC AFFAIRS—June, 1939  
The War in China and The Soviet Press—Martin R. Norins (at present at U. C., Berkeley, Cal.)  
"An account written by a partisan in the New China News, which was one of the chief outlets in Hankow for news from the former Communist region . . ."  
"The correspondent of still another Chinese paper, the New China Times, describes the extraordinary measures taken throughout the Special Region to exterminate spies, traitors and Trotskyites. In the Special Area both quantity and quality of economic and human resources has been improved. Primary credit must go to the Chinese Communist Party. All activities have been co-ordinated between the 8th Route Army, the new armed forces that have arisen among the people of this territory and the National Government.  
In the past 2 years there has been an increase in the crop acreage in every province, and especially in the Special Region. After the occupation of the Northwest by the Chinese Communists, the percentage of cultivated area had been raised from 3 percent to 53% in Kansu and from 7% to 67.9% in Shensi. In the same period the total cultivate acreage in all China had increased from 7% to 16% of the cultivatable land. The same investigation listed the total of waste land in all 23 provinces at 1,275,000,000 mu in area. (One mu is approximately 1/6 of an acre, but the measure varies from place to place.)  
Recent reports in Izvestia have centered about the leading articles of R. Karmen, the journal's special correspondent in China. Between November, 1938 and March, 1939, Karmen sent dispatches from Changsha, Chungking, Kweilin and Shaochou (Kwantung) and appears to have been covering the southern and central War Fronts. His articles present a number of significant conclusions which may be epitomized roughly as follows:  
1. Extensive and rapid reforms are being conducted by the Chinese Government to ameliorate the living conditions of the common people.  
2. There is tangible evidence that from the merest youth to the mature man and woman, the Chinese as a whole are being welded into a fervent unity.  
3. The resulting unity . . . is enhancing common loyalty and allegiance to the National Government . . .  
4. Despite the appearance of Japanese success there are geographical, social and military obstacles which are militating against permanent or continued Japanese victories henceforth.  
5. On the other hand, the overwhelming facts point to an ultimate Chinese victory."  
"The Soviet reader is told with pride that the Chinese Communists have been in the very forefront of the Chinese resistance . . . ; but the accounts are not worded in such a way as to lead the Soviet public to believe that China is becoming territorially a Soviet 'sphere of influence'."

Soviet Reports of Chinese Unity →

"Finally in June (1939) it was announced in Moscow that the Chinese and Soviet Governments, had concluded a barter agreement providing for the extension of a 750 million ruble credit. This has been variously estimated as being equivalent to from U. S. \$100 to U. S. 150 million."

Soviet aid

# THE CHINESE ARMY

## ITS ORGANIZATION AND MILITARY EFFICIENCY

By

EVANS FORDYCE CARLSON

*United States Marine Corps, Recently Resigned*

INTERNATIONAL SECRETARIAT  
INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS

PUBLICATIONS OFFICE, 129 EAST 52ND STREET, NEW YORK

1940

The contest in China presents a classic example of the power of the people of a nation when those people are awakened to a national consciousness, and when they are further stimulated by just and kindly leadership. Chiang Kai-shek is sometimes referred to abroad as a dictator. He is a dictator in the sense that most of the functions of government are centered in him. But he is far from being a dictator when it comes to the manner in which he exercises his power. His function is that of a master co-ordinator who makes concessions first to the right and then to the left in order to keep the ship of state on an even keel. His regime might more appropriately be described as a controlled democracy. Concessions must be made to the people.

Shifts left & right (like F.D.R.?)  
Controlled Democracy

Some apprehension is felt abroad about the course which China will follow in case she is victorious. This apprehension is based on the growing strength of the Chinese Communist Party. When the writer was in Yen-an (Shensi), in May of 1938, he asked Mao Tse-tung, the political leader of the Party, to describe the salient points in the plans of the Party for the post-war period. His reply was in effect as follows:

See other statements of Mao Tse-tung in Section II of this study.

"The Communist Party hopes to continue the present entente with the Kuomintang, looking to the establishment in China of a real democracy with a two party government. We believe that the state should own the banks, mines and communications. We believe that the consumers' and producers' co-operatives should be developed. We favor the encouragement of private enterprise. And we desire that cordial relations be established and maintained between China and those foreign nations which are willing to meet China on a basis of equality."

Some months later this conversation was related to Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, and he was asked to what extent the ideas expressed agreed with his own. His reply was that his ideas on the subject were "about the same."

Chinese Character

1,000,000 Jap troops

Russian help  
withdrawn in 1938

60 divisions assigned  
as Guerrillas

Praise of Generalissimo's  
Armies

Improvements

9

One thing is certain: The character of the Chinese people is such that they could never become militaristic so long as they remain the citizens of an independent nation. They are essentially a peace loving people. It is equally certain that the China of the future will be more conscious of her power, and that she will demand that her sovereign rights be respected.

Over a million Japanese troops are now committed to the mainland of Eastern Asia. But they are distributed over an area two thousand miles in length.

The area which the army now occupies consists of the railway zones of north China (i. e., a strip about five miles wide on each side of each rail line), the Yangtze valley as far west as Hankow, and the municipalities of Peiping, Tientsin, and of other cities along the China coast. Most of the areas between the railways continue to be controlled by Chinese forces.

The Chinese forces engaged in the Hankow battle aggregated 148 divisions, containing 1,005,000 men. The largest Japanese force engaged at any one time numbered ten and a half divisions, with about 230,000 men.

Japanese air superiority was aided by the return of the Russian planes to Russia in August, due to the critical situation that obtained in Europe at that time. Chinese aviation was temporarily in the doldrums, and the Japanese had the air to themselves.

The Chinese casualties for the war, up to the first of November, had reached the enormous total of 2,000,000 men. Japanese casualties were estimated by competent observers to be about 500,000, of which 350,000 were killed and seriously wounded, while 150,000 were slightly wounded.

#### The Second Phase (Guerrilla Operations)

When Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek withdrew his troops from the Hankow front he sent sixty divisions to the east of the Japanese lines with instructions to carry on guerrilla operations against the Japanese lines of communication.

When the extent of the terrain involved and the character of the communications are taken into consideration, the degree to which the Generalissimo has been able to co-ordinate the operations in all of these theaters is remarkable.

Many readjustments have taken place in the army. Training has become more uniform, and the practice of according all armies equal treatment is increasing. Old and incompetent commanders have been replaced by young and professionally trained leaders. Staff schools have improved the quality and number of staff officers. The economy of the army has become better integrated.

Aug. 23, 1939—Public Announcement of Soviet-German Non-Aggression Pact signed by Molotov and Von Ribbentrop

C 10.

Immediately after the start of the European War, Sept. 1, 1939, Communist parties everywhere characterize the war as only an imperialist struggle. Sept. 14, 1939, Mao Tse-tung, the Earl Browder of China, calls it the "imperialist war." Chinese Communists become gradually more open in announcing that they have not given up their plans to eventually carry through the Marxist-Leninist revolution in China, and refuse to accept the orders of the Chinese Government. In December 1940 this results in armed clash; Government forces pushing through the Communist New 4th Army north of the Yangtze though not north of the Yellow River where it had been ordered. Communist press then charges Chinese Government with being reactionary, feudal, fascist and pro-Japanese. I.P.R. follows the same line.

This Comment by  
Alfred Kohlberg.

Statement sent by Alfred Kohlberg to Mr. E. C. Carter, at Mr. Carter's request, Feb., 1940

I feel that for me to criticize the work of the American Institute of Pacific Relations is extremely presumptuous, in view of my ignorance of the vast field covered by its studies. Nevertheless, inasmuch as I have been asked to explain my resignation, I shall attempt to do so in the hope that this may be considered merely the expression of a personal point of view and not a criticism of the American Institute. It is my belief that there are powers active in the World today whose philosophy is closely akin to that of the gangsters of the American film, but whose morals are lower and cruelty greater than our film villains. It is my belief that the only attitude toward world problems, that has realism, is the formulation of a plan of action to assist encompassing the military defeat of those powers—in the Pacific area, Japan and Russia—and their complete disarmament. With this belief, I cannot support an organization attempting an unprejudiced study of the rights and wrongs of the situation. The need at the moment is to catch, prosecute and punish the gangsters and not divert attention to theoretic and unrealistic discussions of matters which may later have value, if China and the Allies win, but which will be of no interest if Japan, Russia and Germany win. Meantime, such discussion, by attempting to be impartial and neutral, is actually misleading. In my humble opinion, an impartial study of the war in China would lead to the conclusion that the Japanese nation has unilaterally broken every treaty entered into with other nations, that its army is a gang of murderers, arsonists and rapists and unless decisively defeated, a menace to the world for generations to come. To support an organization unable to reach this conclusion would be contrary to my convictions.

Resignation withdrawn

Mr. Carter's answer to above statement.

15th February, 1940

Dear Mr. Kohlberg,  
Thank you most sincerely for your valuable letter. It makes me all the more eager to have you come to Princeton.  
I think you will find the atmosphere quite different from that of a year ago. This will derive in part from the steady advance in American public opinion and also in part from the somewhat different composition of the Princeton meeting. As I look over the list of acceptances I see a higher proportion of those who feel about the Far East as you do.  
If you hesitate to express yourself at length in the discussion, I will be glad from the chair to read the statement of your deepest feeling which you kindly sent to Miss Taylor. I can read it either coming from you or anonymously. It represents the views of the majority of the members of the American Council.  
The way both you and I can forward our views and get them more widely accepted is to go on expressing them as effectively as we can because otherwise we might be accused of retreating and taking a defeatist attitude. Only as our views are vigorously voiced can we get increased support for them.

Sincerely yours,  
Edward C. Carter

Compare this blast  
from Communist China  
in 1940 with present  
day propoganda.

SECOND COMMUNIST-  
KUOMINTANG HONEY-  
MOON ENDS.

Kuomintang surrenders

Sun Yat-sen's principles  
scuttled

Fascist ideas

Aren't all the guerilla  
Troops in Hopei Communists?

Treason!

THE KUOMINTANG IN CHINA: ITS FABRIC  
AND FUTURE

WEI MENG-PU—formerly Professor of  
Political Science at the National Northeast-  
ern University, Mukden; now making a  
study tour in the interior provinces of  
China.

WEI MENG-PU

There is not the slightest doubt that the ideas embodied in the San Min Chu I fully represent the aspirations of the national bourgeoisie of China.

This revolutionary movement obtained the cooperation of the budding political party of the Chinese proletariat, which during the anti-North Expedition against the militarists from 1925-1927 reached its highest water mark in the National United Front against feudalistic and imperialistic forces. Soon, however, this united front was broken by pressure from without and intrigues within. Consequently, the Kuomintang began to change in quality, and the national bourgeoisie surrendered to foreign capital and the Chinese traditional system.

Although the three people's principles of Dr. Sun Yat-sen were nominally maintained as the Kuomintang policy, they were in reality no more than a decoration. The subsequent Kuomintang organization was entirely based upon a concept of civil war. No wonder then that there was such a wide gap between its actual program and its professed outlook.

The ten-year campaign against the Chinese Communists was not successful, and accelerated Japanese aggression penetrated step by step deep into China. At one time fascist ideas were popularized among and praised by Kuomintang members.

Secret circular orders have been issued by the Central Headquarters of the Kuomintang to block the activities of those who positively advocate the National United Front and those who are Communists or alleged Communists.

Worse still, some of the political workers of the Eighth Route Army in Hopei were secretly arrested, assassinated and buried alive by subordinates of the Chairman of Hopei, General Lu Chung-lin.

As a matter of fact it must be understood that just as the Kuomintang represents certain strata of Chinese economic life, the existence of the Chinese Communist Party has also a special economic base. Factually it is impossible to wipe out the Chinese Communist Party.

There are still many individual Kuomintang members either openly or secretly linked with Wang Ching-wei. The Kuomintang therefore confronts a critical situation.



Japs a cinch!

C. C. Group

Trotskyites!

Favors Wang Ching-wei

C. C. Group Traitors!

Communist's present program  
Later?

Chairman I. P. R  
in Soviet Union

"For, generally, speaking, Kuomintang people somehow tend to think that to defeat Japanese imperialism is 'not difficult' but that to control the rising democratic influence in China is not an easy matter."

**T**HE Kuomintang party machine under the Chen brothers, as it is today, should next be described. In the Generalissimo's eyes the C. C. Group, like the Huangpu, is his own creation. It has close connections with local administration, down to the village. It is allied to many of the "rotten gentry" and the reactionary landlords, and has everywhere entered into direct conflict with the local popular movements directed by the Chinese Communists. It has absorbed into its rank and file quite a few ex-Communists and Chinese Trotskyites, who have strengthened it not only in personnel but also in tactics. Prior to his open betrayal, Wang Ching-wei's relation to the C. C. Group was fairly close. Shortly after his open betrayal and flight from Chungking, the Kuomintang Headquarters ordered all party members both in China and abroad not to attack Wang without reserve.

It has become plain that it was the work of these men in the C. C. Group that enabled Wang Ching-wei to deliver blow after blow to the Chinese press in Shanghai, which has always advocated the continuance of resistance.

As to the sincerity and fidelity of the Chinese Communist Party in carrying out this United Front program, they seem unimpeachable, as reports from the regions in which the Eighth Route Army and the New Fourth Army are stationed have amply shown.

The essence of history is evolutionary and no social, political or economic development can be expected to omit the sequence of evolutionary stages. Fully understanding this, the Chinese Communists have adopted a realistic and promising policy of exerting all their energy to support a bourgeois democratic revolution. Before such a national revolution is accomplished they will not put up any slogan for socialistic revolution. For the present and for a long time to come, therefore, the Chinese national bourgeoisie should not entertain any fear of the Chinese Communist Party. This party and the Kuomintang are both needed and they should cooperate to achieve the national bourgeois democratic revolution.

PACIFIC AFFAIRS—Dec., 1940

THE SOVIET VIEW OF THE FAR EAST

**D**URING the next few months no aspect of international relations is going to be more discussed than the nature, intentions and methods of Soviet foreign policy. We have received, just in time for notice, in this issue, a book which is an invaluable guide to the Soviet assessment of the character of the Far Eastern war and its relation to the war in Europe.\* The author, Dr. Motylev, is Chairman of the Soviet Council of the Institute of Pacific Relations, and Director of the Institute of the Great Soviet World Atlas.

Russia also discovers  
Traitors in Kuomintang.

Silent on Sovietization

Kuomintang armies victories

No Russo-Jap pact.  
see p. 48

U.S.-Jap war.

Revolution in Japan  
(see p. 81)

16 or 23 counties

See "The Communist" Nov. 1940  
p. 54

China, Dr. Motylev finds, has under the United Front continued the Revolution of Sun Yat-sen, but in the new form of a national revolutionary struggle of the masses of the Chinese people for an independent, democratic Chinese Republic. The internal revolution continues, in as much as there are still groups of "compradore bourgeoisie" and landlords which are anti-national and traitorous, and which through representation in the Kuomintang are still able to work against the United Front. The creation of the United Front, however, with cooperation of the Kuomintang and the Communists, is converting China into an "invincible" country (p. 14). Here, as throughout, Dr. Motylev's basic assumption is that China's victory must come from the creation of internal strength, not through aid from the outside. Not a word is said about any future Sovietization of China.

In his military analysis, Dr. Motylev follows Mao Tse-tung in dividing the war into three stages: first, Japanese ascendancy; second, stalemate; third, Chinese ascendancy, the taking of the offensive, and final victory. The first stage closed when the Japanese had taken Hankow and Canton, at the end of 1938, and it became apparent that they were incapable of further major territorial gains. The second stage began with the defeat of the Japanese in their attempt to take Changsha, after reaching Nanchang (March-April, 1939), followed by a defeat north-west of Hankow, in May, and a further defeat before Changsha in September.

In reviewing Dr. Motylev's last book, I pointed out that it showed not a sign of fear that Russia need "appease" Japan at the expense of China. This assurance remains unshaken. Like his former book, this one is not intended for effect abroad, but for the Soviet public. (It is printed in a first edition of 20,000 copies.) It does not in the slightest degree prepare that public for a Soviet "deal" at the expense of China.

On the contrary, its basic assumption is that Japan cannot defeat China and its clearest prediction is that Japan will get into a war with the United States. Since it states that Japan is already "pregnant with revolution," it can hardly lead the Soviet public to expect that the Soviet Government will do anything to save the rulers of Japan and prevent that revolution.

It is interesting that the book reveals no "special" sources of information. It cites, especially, *The Times* and the *Economist*, published in London; *China at War*, printed in Hongkong and distributed all over the world; *China Today* and *Amerasia*, published in New York; and a number of I.P.R. publications. O.L.

FAR EASTERN SURVEY—January 29, 1941  
BREAK IN UNITED FRONT? D.B.

"The Communists claimed that the allowance granted them by the Government would not support more than 45,000 men, while actually their forces, including auxiliary divisions, numbered over half a million. Another point entering into the negotiations was the Communists' demand that their administrative rights be extended from 16 to 23 counties in the northwest Border Region. No final agreement on these issues has as yet been reached.

See "The Communist" Sep. 1937  
p. 38

Battle  
See "New Masses" Feb. 4, 1941  
p. 58

12 Demands -  
See "New Masses" Mar. 18, 1941  
p.

Pro-Jap element in Chungking

See "New Masses"  
Jan. 28, 1941 p. 59

See "plot" "New Masses"  
Mar. 18, 1941 (p. 60)

Chou En-lai says Russo-Jap  
pact no effect on China

Pro-Nazis in Chungking

FAR EASTERN SURVEY—July 12, 1941  
CHINA'S "RED" ARMIES—Dorothy Borg.

"kidnapping of Chiang Kai-shek in December, 1936, when the Generalissimo was persuaded to form a United Front to resist Japan. In the following months, the Communist area in the north-west was officially recognized as the Border Region of Shensi, Kansu and Ninghsia and placed under the control of the National Government; at the same time the 'Red' army was renamed the Eighth Route Army and incorporated in the Chinese Government forces . . ."

"The result was so successful that in January, 1938, a second Border Government was inaugurated, that of Shansi, Hopei and Chahar which, subject to the control of the Central Government, claimed jurisdiction over 14 million people."

"Even today the Eighth Route Army consists of only 120,000 regulars, but it operates in connection with a half-million Partisans (Carlson, Evans Fordyce, The Chinese Army, I.P.R. Inquiry Series, 1940), young volunteers organized in the region where the army is functioning."

"Moreover the New Fourth Army, stationed in the Lower Yangtze Valley, has used guerrilla tactics similar to those of the Communists in the north, although the Central Government has prevented it from introducing some of the more basic reforms or establishing a government of its own."

"According to reports, the present flare-up of old differences between Communists and Kuomintang was caused by a controversy over the New Fourth Army. Most recent stories tell of a nine-day battle fought between the New Fourth Army and Central Government forces; not only is Yeh Ting, commander of the New Fourth Army, said to have been captured, but Han Ying, leader of the troops during the bitter years in Kiangsi, is variously reported wounded or killed."

FAR EASTERN SURVEY—March 12, 1941

News of the fortnight, Feb. 17 to Mar. 2—M.S.F.

"DISPATCHES FROM CHINA INDICATED THAT the Communists were unreconciled to dissolution of the New Fourth Army. They were said to have made twelve demands on the Chungking Government, including release of General Yeh Ting, punishment of General Ho Yingchin, abolition of the Kuomintang one-party dictatorship, and purging of pro-Japanese element in the Chungking Government (see below). This last point was said to have won public support from several non-Communist leaders including Yen Hsi-shan and Feng Yu-hsiang. Chungking sources announced a new attempt to restore the United Front through a direct appeal to Mao Tse-tung, issued by the Hunan Provincial Council."

PEACE MOVES IN CHINA? D. B.

From all accounts, the groups within China which are regarded as most eager to carry on the war are the bulk of the army, large sections of the masses, and the Communists. . . .

Recent reports from the Far East indicate that there has been for some time a group in China willing to make peace with Japan. This group, including right-wing elements of the government, remained under cover until last summer. . . . The right-wing group now tried to undermine the influence of those urging continued resistance, especially the Communists. The most publicized result was the conflict over the issue of the New Fourth Army, which created abroad much speculation as to the imminence of civil war in China. . . .

It has been asserted that Japanese troops have virtually stopped fighting. Central Government forces and are concentrating their attacks on the Eighth Route and New Fourth Armies. . . .

Chou En-lai, Communist leader, stated recently that it was ridiculous to suppose that the attitude of the Chinese Communists on resistance to Japan would be altered by a Soviet-Japanese non-aggression pact. . . .

According to one informant, the German Government will present Chungking with peace terms within the next few weeks. . . .

People who were on the spot attest that German influence was partly restored in China after Hitler's successful campaigns last summer, and it is generally admitted that in certain quarters a pro-Nazi sentiment exists which might be responsive to a peace offer coming from Berlin. . . .

Institute of Pacific Relations,  
129 East 52nd Street,

April 1, 1941

Attention of Mr. Greenberg

Dear Sir:

Having had a chance to think over the information you were able to give at yesterday's meeting, I am very interested to check further on this, as I feel confident that no one could proceed from Chungking to Berlin without permission of the Chungking Government. Will you kindly advise me the source of information that you referred to yesterday on this trip by some Chinese Committee to Berlin. Thanking you.

Very truly yours,  
Alfred Kohlberg

April 4, 1941

Dear Mr. Kohlberg:

Many thanks for your letter of April 1st. "On September 15th, 1940, the Kuosin News Agency, Kowloon, Hong Kong, reported as follows:

"Because of the closure of the Indo-China Railway and the Burma Highway, a group of influential people in Chungking has tried to sway the government in its external policy towards Germany and Italy. Indeed, in the middle of August the government already decided to send a special diplomatic mission to Berlin."

The point is that inside the Government Party (Kuomintang) there are various factions including one which would like to re-orientate Chinese foreign policy to align it with the Axis. Some of the people in this faction which includes the War Minister Ho Yin-chin are in key positions in the administration and army. This factional struggle goes on all the time and is, of course, directly affected by the amount of aid forthcoming from the United States.

My Chinese colleague tells me that this Japanese "fifth column" at Chungking is also interested in promoting the spread of the civil strife in China, which would clearly not be to the interests of the democracies.

You will, of course, understand that owing to the delicate situation, both diplomatic and internal, in China, the International Secretariat of the I.P.R. is not to be quoted as a source of this information—nor indeed the Institute of Pacific Relations as a whole.

Sincerely yours,  
Michael Greenberg

A.K. letter to I.P.R

Communist News Service

China leans to Axis

Here comes Ho Ying Chin

See "plot" "New Masses"  
Mar. 18, 1941

Jap 5<sup>th</sup> Column!

No quotes!

Territorial integrity of  
Manchoukuo

See Chou-En-lai comment  
p. 14

See "New Masses" Apr 22, 1941  
p. 60

FAR EASTERN SURVEY—April 21, 1941  
SOVIET-JAPANESE PACT—Harriett Moore

The rider attached to the treaty, pledging respect for the territorial integrity of Manchoukuo and the Mongol People's Republic, was recognition of the fact that incidents along their frontiers have been a major source of Soviet-Japanese friction. . . .

The first reactions to the pact indicated that it meant all things to all people. The Japanese press claimed that it was a blow to Chiang Kai-shek and to the United States; Chungking was noncommittal, though unofficial comment held it unlikely to affect Chinese-Soviet trade; . . .

There was no evidence that the pact was accompanied by agreements on China.

Communists withdraw

Japanese Red Troops Beat  
Wireless to Far New Year Times.  
SHANGHAI, May 16—Since the  
signing of the Russian-Japanese  
pact the Far East has been buzzing  
with speculation as to whether  
there are secret causes affecting  
the Chinese Communist forces, the  
Eighteenth Route Army, formerly  
the Eighth Route Army, and the  
Fourth Route Army.

During yesterday's press confer-  
ence the Japanese Army spokes-  
man declared, "The Eighteenth  
Route Army has not attacked us."  
Today, after announcing Japanese  
gains in Southern Shansi Province,  
the spokesman declared the Chi-  
nese Communists were in North-  
western Shansi.

When questioned further as to  
hostilities, the spokesman refer-  
ated that neither the Eighteenth  
Route forces nor Japanese troops  
had attacked and that there had  
been no clashes.

Further questioning as to what-  
er the Russian-Japanese pact had  
any bearing on this apparent reluc-  
tance of Japanese troops to attack  
their traditional enemies brought  
only laughs.

N.Y. Times  
May 1941

Blockade of Communists

2 Observers

2/5 of Japs engaged by 8th Route  
From speech Mao Tse-tung Feb. 1940  
"New Masses" Jan. 28, 1941, p. 57

July 1937 - 90,000 see p. 40

FAR EASTERN SURVEY—May  
PEOPLE'S POLITICAL COUNCIL—Brothy Borg.

Two weeks before the opening of the council, the seven Communist  
members announced that they would not attend the meeting unless  
the 12 points delivered to the Generalissimo in January were  
granted . . .

In reply to the Communists' demands, the People's Political Council  
passed a resolution stating that they would not accept any conditions  
set forth by members for attendance at the session. As a result the  
Communists continued their boycott of the meetings to the end.

PACIFIC AFFAIRS—June, 1941

"Eighth Route Regions in North China", by Anna Louise Strong.

See "New Masses"  
Mar. 18, 1941, p.

ANNA LOUISE STRONG—first trav-  
elled widely in China in 1925, when she  
visited Feng Yu-hsiang in Inner Mon-  
golia and Wu Pei-fu in Hankow. In 1927  
she travelled from Hankow to Russia,  
through Mongolia. Her last visit to China  
was at the end of 1940.

Most descriptions of the Eighth Route Army (now offi-  
cially the 18th Group Army, but still popularly known by the old  
name) date from 1938, the halcyon year of Chinese unity, when the  
Central Government, then in Hankow, placed no serious obstacles  
to the visits of Chinese and foreigners to General Chu Teh's head-  
quarters, then at Linfen in South Central Shansi. In the past two  
years, silence has been increasingly clamped down upon the Eighth  
Route area, by the armed blockade maintained by Chungking troops.  
At rare intervals, a high dignitary with a considerable armed force of  
"body-guards" manages to force this cordon, taking a few persons  
in or out. But the foreign surgeon appointed to replace Dr. Norman  
Bethune, when the latter died at his post at Wut'ai-shan, tried for a  
year to enter and at last accepted work in other Chinese hospitals of  
the Central Government. More recently, this past winter, the famous  
Rewi Alley, organizer-in-chief of the Industrial Cooperatives, was  
detained by the military when he tried to travel to Yen-an to visit co-  
operatives in that region and beyond.

Despite these difficulties, information still at times seeps through  
to Chungking. During my visit there last December, two of my  
Chinese friends returned from Eighth Route territory after a stay  
of two years.

Feng Teh-hwai reported—(May 1940)—that of 36 Japanese  
divisions in China, 18 are in North China, and 15 of these—or 40 per  
cent of all Japan's invading armies—are engaged by the Eighth  
Route.

Through this entire period, Chungking's official figures credit the  
Eighth Route with only 45,000 men—the figure on which Chiang  
Kai-shek today bases his statement that they form only two per cent  
of the Government's troops.

Actually the Eighth Route had far more than 45,000 men from  
the beginning. When I visited Chu Teh's headquarters in early 1938,  
they counted 90,000 in their regular army. Thousands of peasant boys  
were applying for admission and being told: "We have no money for  
more soldiers; join Yen Hsi-shan" (Governor of Shansi).

an average of 3 dead per battle reported by 8<sup>th</sup> Route

See "New Masses" Mar. 18, 1941 p. 59

90% Vote  
see "New Masses" Dec 21, 1937 p. 4/  
also " " Mar. 7, 1944 p. 75  
(see bottom p. 44)

Landlords in Communist Govt.

Tax collections

Communist money good

Banking Reforms

Losses of the Eighth Route in two and a half years of fighting were 36,402 dead, 50,828 incapacitated by wounds and 10,475 by gas. (Gas has long been used against North China guerillas, though not as far as I know, elsewhere in China.) This total of 107,805 casualties is two and a third times the "official" number of troops!

(Once they held Chefoo port long enough to run in shiploads of munitions and collect customs, and thereby came in conflict with the Chungking-appointed Governor of Shantung, who wanted from the Eighth Route the revenues which he had lost to the Japanese!)

Hsien officials were formerly appointed by the Regional Government but were finally elected in a tremendous popular campaign in August 1940, which brought out 90 per cent of the possible voters, both men and women. The local Kuomintang organization urged its members to take part; the Communists kept the pledge, made earlier by Mao Tse-tung, not to accept more than one-third of the elected places in any United Front government. The Communist platform made no mention of socialism or land confiscation, but demanded democratic rights for all, measures to improve farming and industry, universal education, and a social program in which taxes or rents on poor peasants "should not exceed" 37 per cent of their harvest, and interest rates should not exceed one per cent per month. The hsien governments thus elected contained all classes: landlords as well as peasants, rich as well as poor.

The Border Region gives special attention to economic war. Besides the land tax (which is prorated down from region through hsien to village, and divided by the village council among the families) there are export and import taxes. These are especially designed to export what is not needed and import necessities, especially for war. There is no tax on imports of war materials and medical supplies but taxes on luxuries rise in a steep scale to 50 per cent on wine. Taxes may be paid in kind and a large proportion of the land tax is paid in grain.

Since the grain is used chiefly by the army, which is always on the move, and since grain transport on men's backs is difficult, the Regional Government issues "wheat notes." They are in large denominations, and are carried by the army, which pays them out in return for wheat to the "production committees" of the villages. They are then returnable to the government in payment of taxes. They are more valued among the people than ordinary currency, since they are always good for their equivalent in wheat.

The Border Region counters by having its own bank, which prints local notes which are of course useless to the Japanese. Originally these local notes were backed by a reserve of Chungking-notes, but now they have an additional backing in a large hoard of silver bars and silver shoes; my Chinese friend saw their vaults in a cave protected by soldiers. The local farmers, he learned, protect their silver from the Japanese by depositing it with the bank; they know that if their receipts are destroyed, the bank will repay them on proof drawn from its own records. Similarly the bank makes good any of its own notes, if destroyed by the Japanese, a practice which causes the local people to prefer local notes to those of Chungking.

Trenches connect villages.

State Insurance

Communists distrust  
Chiang Kai Shek

Jos. Barnes reviews  
Edgar Snow

Chinese Communists  
loyal to Comintern.

This missionary ~~company~~ what I heard also from my Chinese friends, that a network of deep trenches now connects most of the villages of the plains in this area, so that village messengers and even guerilla forces travel by day unseen from Japanese observation towers. The grain messengers' lives are insured by state insurance.

Though preparations for the action went on for nearly two months, during which time Eighth Route soldiers were making deposits of food and munitions in hundreds of places near the rail-ways, not a word leaked out to the Japanese. It is bitterly significant that word of the battle was sent to Chiang Kai-shek only two days after it started, lest it reach the Japanese through men in the Generalissimo's entourage! Immediately after informing the Generalissimo, Chu Teh and P'eng Teh-hwai sent a telegram to the "People of Chungking," expressing sympathy for the recent victims of a peculiarly effective air raid on that city and "dedicating the victory of our Hundred Regiments to the victims in Chungking—to answer the Japanese air raids and avenge the Chungking people." This United Front gesture was permitted to be printed in the Communist newspaper in Chungking, but after that all mention of the northern guerilla activities, and even the name of "Hundred Regiments Battle" was suppressed.

Such are the glimpses one gets of the Eighth Route regions in North China, brief glimpses across armed blockade. No one who knows them doubts that, whatever the future may hold of civil conflict, the people of North China, aroused by these guerillas, will find for themselves (new) ways of resisting the imperialism of Japan.

April 1941

"The Battle for Asia" by Edgar Snow, reviewed by Joseph Barnes in "Pacific Affairs", June, 1941. (Cable editor, Herald-Tribune and formerly Correspondent, Moscow and Berlin).

Some of his best reporting is on the Soviet areas of China which he first described in *Red Star Over China*. It includes the first detailed report on the New Fourth Army, the rear guard of those Red forces who left Kiangsi on their epic march to the Northwest in 1934. This rear guard covered the withdrawal with some 30,000 men and boys. Under Han Ying (Hsiang Ying), their leader and hero, they broke up into small partisan bands which, retreating eastward, found a precarious refuge in the forests of Fukien and Kiangsi. Not until December, 1936 did they learn that resistance to Japan might be renewed, weeks after the Sian incident during which the United Front first began to jell. Only late in 1937 did they first establish contact with Mao Tse-tung and the Eighth Route Army, and finally reach an agreement with General Ho Ying-ch'in, the War Minister. Around this agreement centers the dispute which flared into open fighting in January between the New Fourth Army and Chungking forces.

Russia seems to Snow less of a menace. Although he recognizes the loyalty of Chinese Communists to the Comintern and the identity, in final analysis, of Comintern strategy with the defense needs of the Soviet Union, he points out that Chinese independence is still necessary to both the Red Army and the world revolution as Moscow plans them. In Sinkiang, which Russia could grab without trouble if it wanted to, he finds evidence that Russia is out for higher stakes than colonies. Finally, the community of interest between Soviet aims and those of Chungking is substantial enough at least to spare the Chinese Communists the embarrassment of their comrades in other countries who have put themselves out on limbs to be sawed off by Soviet foreign policy.

Mr. Edward C. Carter,  
Acting Secretary, American Council,  
Institute of Pacific Relations,  
129 East 52nd Street,  
New York City

My dear Mr. Carter:  
Your circular letter of November 20th made most interesting reading.

The general question put to me by most people who bring up the subject of our Far Eastern relations can be summarized in "Why should we fight about the Dutch East Indies?" Possibly in my own line my lack of information has made it possible for me to over-simplify what I think is the real question, but it seems to me that the real question facing us is the following: Will the present period of turmoil in the Far East eventually end in Japanese defeat there in a military or diplomatic sense, or Japanese victory with a hostile Empire of 700,000,000 people facing us across the Pacific.

If there is anything to this simplification of the fundamental issue, then it seems to me that it would be important to constantly and continually keep this question before those people who form American opinion. My suggestion therefore is that only if the fundamental situation is understood by these people is that detailed information carried in your publications of value to them and that, therefore, the above simplification (or a correction of it) be constantly stressed.

Very truly yours,  
Alfred Kohlberg

AK:AM

Suggestions requested

"Dear Old Ding-Dong."

Hostile Empire of  
700,000,000

June 22, 1941—Germany Invades the Soviet Union.

Hitler's attack on Russia caused a complete reversal in the Soviet's Far Eastern policy. Fearing the Japs would attack in the East while the Germans advanced in the West, the Chinese Communists' troubles with the Government apparently ended and in the Communist press and the I.P.R. the Chinese Government again became a great democracy and no pro-Japanese could be found in Chungking.

This comment by  
Alfred Kohlberg

THIRD COMMUNIST-KUOMINTANG HONEYMOON

Not by I.P.R. staff member.  
Bulk of fighting  
Communist philosophy

FAR EASTERN SURVEY—October 20, 1941  
CHINESE RESISTANCE IN NORTH CHINA—George E. Taylor  
*The brunt of the fighting against the Japanese and the major part of the political struggle has been borne, of course, by the Kuomintang, the exploits of whose armies for the most part remain unsung. At the same time, however, the effectiveness of the 8th Route Army, and particularly of the Border Government in the north, has been a factor contributing in no small measure to the stabilization of the military front against the Japanese. Only recently the guerrillas in the north started a campaign which they claim was undertaken in order to help both the British and the Russians, by immobilizing Japanese troops and thus preventing an attack upon either the south Pacific or Vladivostok. This had more political than military significance perhaps, but it does indicate what Chungking fears, that the Communist armies associate themselves with world developments and have their own political philosophy and strategy. . . .*  
*In terms of its own ends, the Border Government has had indeed a large measure of success. Its chief ends of policy were to limit the territory and population controlled by the puppet regime at Peking, to assert economic pressure upon the Japanese and lastly to conduct small-scale military operations against Japanese garrisons. . . .*  
*It was never the aim of the Border Government to drive the Japanese forces out of North China by military methods, but rather to insure that as many Japanese troops as possible should be immobilized in the occupation of the northern provinces.*

Communist aims



The United States is fighting a global war, the exigencies of which the Chinese are quick to appreciate. The urgency of military requirements on fronts other than the Chinese may delay the delivery of personnel and equipment fulfilling Chinese expectations. Nevertheless, China looks to the United States to provide the conditions under which a counter-offensive will become possible. The first condition is the establishment and maintenance of a satisfactory supply line into China over which quantities of raw materials and munitions may be moved. Moreover, China expects the United States to create within China concentration of air power providing an umbrella for land operations of Chinese armies. . . .

The vital strategic importance of the China front, which can be perceived even now, will become even more apparent should the Japanese army launch an attack on Soviet Russia in the Far East. . . . Difficulties which the Chinese may place in the way of an aggressive Japan in northern Asia will be seen as a direct contribution to the United Nations as they attempt to deal with Hitler in Europe and the Japanese in the entire Pacific war theatre. . . .

One year ago, in the spring of 1941, there was widespread discussion of the motives and composition of a so-called peace faction in Chungking. In the spring of 1942 I found no discussion concerning this group, nor anyone who claimed that such a group existed today. Chinese, even those most desperately exhausted by the consequences of five years of hostilities, know that the Japanese have nothing to offer them.

FAR EASTERN SURVEY—September 7, 1942

WHY WERE WE WRONG? (from a personal letter by an American correspondent in the Far East)

At that time, there were literally nothing of any military importance in the Malaya-Netherlands East Indies line. Nothing. But a newspaperman is one of God's dumbest creatures. He can be shown a polished-up piece of ack-ack and be told it's the world's best. He doesn't know what he's seeing.

FAR EASTERN SURVEY—November 2, 1942

WARTIME GOVERNMENT IN CHINA—Guenther Stein

The actual government powers are to be found, therefore, in the above-mentioned two organizations, especially the Supreme National Defense Council. This Council has as its highest executive organs the National Military Council and the Executive Yuan. Both are at present under the Chairmanship of the Generalissimo, Chiang Kai-shek, who thus presides over all the really decisive Central Government organizations.

The National Military Council, as its name indicates, deals with the military affairs of the country. . . . It comprises a number of offices which have to do with the various branches of military organization. . . . there is the General Staff, whose chief, General Ho Ying-chin, we have mentioned as one of the members of the Standing Committee of the Supreme National Defense Council, and who is currently also Minister of War under the Executive Yuan. . . . and a Board of Ministry of Military Affairs, which is the actual Ministry of War—headed by General Ho Ying-Chin—and as such at the same time under the Executive Yuan.

As the National Military Council has to direct all war efforts, it includes a great number of other organizations such as . . . a Directory-General of Military Transportation under General Ho Ying-chin personally and a Deputy, . . .

Of special importance and interest among these branch offices is the Party and Political Affairs Commission for the War Area. The Chairman is the veteran General Chung Chen, but the Vice-Chairman of this organization that directs affairs with regard to all war areas is General Chou En-lai, the well-known Communist leader.

1942: What China expects

1944: See p. 82-85 what China received.

Danger of Jap attack on Russia

No appeasers in Chungking  
See "New Masses" July 15, 1941  
p. 62

Even observers go wrong.

Generalissimo

Ho Ying Chin's positions

Chou En-lai vice-chairman

**CHANGING CHINA**  
 by George E. Taylor  
 edited by Maxwell S. Stewart  
 A Cooperative Project  
 between American Council,  
**INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS**  
 and  
**WEBSTER PUBLISHING COMPANY**  
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Some of China's leaders wanted to throw away the old altogether, and build a new China as if there were no dangers from abroad. Others knew that the enemy would not give time for this, and wanted to use what they had at hand. The result was a compromise. Chiang Kai-shek built up his army, and the planners laid some of the foundations for a new China.

Chiang Kai-shek is really the maker of modern China; he is one of the greatest men of his time. More than any other single person he has molded the policies of the nation and built up the fighting spirit of the Chinese people. If it had not been for him, China would not have been able to put up the fight she did when Japan attacked in 1937; it was a tragedy that he had such a short time in which to make his preparations for the struggle which he saw must come. In that short time he had to fight enemies at home while making ready to face the enemy from abroad. He had to watch Japan seizing province after province while his armies were engaged in suppressing revolt within China.

China is fortunate that at the greatest moment in her history she produced a great man, Chiang Kai-shek, who had the courage and vision to choose to fight an unequal struggle rather than submit to the aggressor and who threw the fortunes of his country into the same scales as those of the democratic peoples of the world.

Such changes as China has made in politics during the war have been in the direction of democracy, toward giving the people a greater share in the direction of their own affairs.

Not I.P.R. staff member

Greatness of Generalissimo

Unnamed Enemies

Democracy

Soviet Silence

Alarming?

See "New Masses" Jan. 8, 1941  
"7 Withouts" p. 57

See Anna Louise Strong p. 17

Same as Russia?

Japanese Prisoners (5000)  
(see p. 68)

Coddled?

Puppet troop relations

Ho Ying Chin is pro-Jap.

FAR EASTERN SURVEY—March 8, 1943

Silence of Understanding—J. L. Moore

The mutual respect between [redacted] and the Soviet Union grows out of years of close contact through which each has learned much from the other and each has understood the importance of the other. It is not without its significance that General Chuikov, hero of the Stalin-grad defense, was Soviet military attache in Chungking until February, 1942. . . .

Today's silence between the two countries seems more likely to be the silence of understanding than of misunderstanding. Rather than competing with each other for American and British aid, it is probable that the Soviet Union and China are in fact following a parallel policy of urging the Anglo-American war boards to more action, more quickly, everywhere.

FAR EASTERN SURVEY—May 3, 1943

Land of Five Withouts—Lt. George Uhlmann

China's guerilla-controlled territory is called "The Land of Five Withouts"—without beggars, without opium, without prostitution, without corruption, and without unjust taxes. One could add a sixth—without any fuss. . . .

The farmer goes to the polls and takes elections very seriously. Government is in the true democratic spirit, following the one-third system of representation—one-third Kuomintang, one-third Communist, and one-third nonparty. . . .

Capital and finance are better protected in the guerilla areas than elsewhere, and the currency in Hopei is the most stable in all Free China. . . .

The chief of the Army's political department at Yen-an headquarters told us, "We have confidence in the people, and give them weapons to create a nation in arms."

Soldiers' pay is a dollar a month, and the highest ranking officer gets five dollars. Thus, veterans of the army like Mao Tsetung, Chu Teh, and Nieh Yung-chen get pay that is lower than that of the common soldier in the Kuomintang Armies. Unlike any other army in China, the 18th Group Army provides sufficient means of existence for those permanently disabled.

There are no distinctions of grade on uniforms worn by guerrillas, nor are officers shown any special mark of respect outside the service. They wear the same uniforms as rank and file soldiers, eat the same food, and take part in all activities. The Japanese prisoners, like everyone else, enjoy this democratic atmosphere. When captured, they are allowed to choose whether to stay or return to their army. They are even allowed to leave later if they find they cannot accustom themselves to life in the area. In that case, they are given food and passes and are led to the outposts. . . .

Before contacting the 18th Group Army, I had an interesting experience. Passing through a village, I was stopped by puppet soldiers who knew that guerrillas were in the vicinity. They saw I was a foreigner and guessed I was escaping from their masters. But they let me pass. When I reported this to the 18th Group Army Commander at Pan Chiao, he said:

"You forget that these soldiers are also Chinese. They serve the Japanese because they are forced to—because they must eat—but they do so against their will. Whenever the Japanese are not around to watch over them, they do nothing. We have been here for more than a year but they leave us in peace; we do the same. We are good neighbors."

Before leaving Yen-an to go to Sian and Chungking, I had a talk with an American doctor there about guerilla area relations with the Kuomintang. He told me that the general feeling was that Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek was not responsible for the tense relations that existed between the two groups. He laid the blame, rather, on local authorities in Sian and the War Minister, General Ho Ying-chin, who was described in Yen-an as belonging to the "peace at any price" faction. Chungking is also charged with failure to strive seriously to give China a democratic government guided by popular representation.

Source of Bisson's figures  
See "Amerasia" July 25, 1943  
p. 69 (5 days later)

May 29, 1944

Mr. Alfred Kohlberg  
1 West 37th Street  
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Kohlberg:

In reply to your inquiry regarding casualties inflicted on the Japanese by Chinese armies, the figures for the central troops are those issued from time to time by the National Government, as you have indicated.

The data on the Chinese Communist armies are derived from a number of different sources, which are cited on p. 230 of the July 25, 1943 issue of AMERASIA, in the article on "China's War Potential" by Hsu Yung-ying. This article contains a detailed breakdown of the figures which will be useful to you, as the data given in my own articles were merely in summary form.

I hope that this reference will give you the additional information which you need.

Sincerely yours,

T. A. Bisson

TAB:EN

BLAST #1 a special release sent out on this

FAR EASTERN SURVEY—July 14, 1943

CHINA'S PART IN A COALITION WAR—T. A. Bisson

In a significant review of the Hupeh campaign, General Ch'en Ch'eng declared on June 9, from his headquarters at Enshih, that the initial Japanese penetration of difficult terrain "was due to our negligence." He then went on to state that it was necessary for China "to coordinate the military, political and economic aspects" of the war, and "to intensify preparations for a counterattack."

From a Chinese commander in Ch'en Ch'eng's position, these are strong words. They are a double rebuke. They imply, in the first place, that the Kuomintang armies displayed a military passivity during the first phase of the Japanese advance. They suggest, in the second place, that a more comprehensive and energetic mobilization of China's war potential is required in order to pass to the attack. . . .

There have been well-justified fears and apprehensions over the trend of Kuomintang policy within China, shared by some of the keenest and most discerning friends of the Chinese people in countries abroad. . . .

. . . This promise, in fact, died early in the war.

It received its best documentary expression in "The Program of National Resistance and Reconstruction" adopted by an emergency session of the Kuomintang Congress at Hankow, on March 29, 1938. The democratic provisions even of this program, which was not without shortcomings, were not carried out, and this high point of the first year of the war soon became a melancholy landmark.

Early in 1939 the Kuomintang conservatives became alarmed at the rapid reconquest and reorganization of territories behind the Japanese lines by the Eighth Route and New Fourth, Communist-led, armies. (It is important to note that the "reorganization-involving land reform and electoral procedures in local government—was as much opposed as the "reconquest." For the emergence of effective political unity in China required, on the part of the Kuomintang, the acceptance of at least these minimal land and electoral reforms.) . . .

A year or more before Pearl Harbor, therefore, two Chinas had definitely emerged. Each had its own government, its own military forces, its own territories. More significant, each had its own characteristic set of political and economic institutions. One is now generally called Kuomintang China; the other is called Communist China.

Gen. Chen Cheng was supreme  
Commander in this battle.  
It resulted in a great victory  
See "New Masses" July 13, 1943, p. 68  
N.Y. Times clippings - p. 79  
85

Prior to June 22, 1941  
Separate Soviet China

### Feudal China

"New Masses" Oct. 7, 1937  
Feb. 8, 1938

"The Communist" Mar. 1944

### Democratic China

"New Masses" Jan. 28, 1941 p. 57

Official Figures  
See "Amerasia" p. 69

Elections. See p. 17, 41, 75  
44

NO bureaucratic  
price controls

Gen. Chennaults passivity

## NEWS OF UNITED CHINA RELI JULY 8, 1944

"China's chances of achieving economic democracy are not less than the chances of the more progressive countries of the world," Dr. T. F. Tsiang, China's delegate to the UNRRA, asserted in a recent speech before the Chicago Council on Foreign Relations.

In defending his government against the foreign charge that landlords dominate the Chinese Government, Dr. Tsiang declared, "I would venture the statement that the members of the Executive Yuan at Chungking own less land than the members of President Roosevelt's Cabinet."

Communists resign, p. 16

However, these are only party labels. To be more descriptive, the one might be called feudal China; the other, democratic China. These terms express the actualities as they exist today, the real institutional distinctions between the two Chinas.

... The institutions which characterize one China as feudal and the other as democratic have the most practical relevance to the leading problems of the day. They are, in fact, the determinants of all policies, domestic and international, espoused by the two Chinas. They explain why Kuomintang China is compelled to demand immediate aid on a scale so great as to necessitate reversal of United Nations' global military strategy. They also explain the declining rate of casualties inflicted on the Japanese by the Kuomintang armies, as contrasted with the increasing rate of casualties inflicted by the Eighth Route and New Fourth armies.

According to official reports, the Kuomintang armies have inflicted on the Japanese average annual casualties (in a total of 66 months) of 354,935, while the combined annual average for the Eighth Route (58 months' total) and the New Fourth (48 months' total) amounted to 113,338. ...

The key to the successful mobilization of the war potential of so-called Communist China lies in the extent to which its leaders have thrown off the feudal incubus which has weighed China down for centuries. ...

Over wide areas of this new China, elected councils—village, town and district—and elected executive officials have completely supplanted the old autocratic system of feudal agrarian China. ... It is this democratic process, finally, which permits a large measure of free competition to operate over the whole of the economy. Bureaucratic price controls are not attempted. They are as unnecessary in this society as they would be in a New England town meeting. ... By no stretch of the imagination can this be termed Communism; it is, in fact, the essence of bourgeois democracy, applied mainly to agrarian conditions. ...

General Ch'en Ch'eng has since given a specific illustration of the situation by pointing out that the American planes were based too far from the fighting fronts to be fully effective in the Hupeh campaign. (New York Times, June 28, 1943. The same paper on June 29 carried Ch'en Ch'eng's statement that China needed "guns and equipment of all kinds", and would welcome "even one-thousandth part of one per cent" of U. S. production.) An attitude of military passivity is revealed by this failure to develop facilities for air action near the front. The alert, active seizure of opportunities open even to limited means is evidently lacking.

These considerations also apply to the economic sphere, although the problem is far more complicated and difficult. Here, too, General Ch'en Ch'eng's comments go straight to the nub of the issue. He states that "there should be unrelenting vigilance and intensified preparations for counterattacks through military, political and economic coordination." (China Daily News, June 19, 1943.)

No serious effort has been made to uproot the landlord-usurer system. With the port cities and their nascent bourgeois class removed, the landlords have become the economic mainstay of the Kuomintang regime.

The declining numbers and strength of the industrial class weakened its challenge to the landlord-bureaucrat regime, thereby putting new props under the tottering structure of Chinese feudalism.

In these circumstances, there could be no real progress toward democratic reform or wider civil liberties. ... Non-Kuomintang representatives on the People's Political Council, which could have evolved into a national legislature, have steadily decreased.

Defections of allegiance, already occurring, will tend to increase as reform is postponed, and the leadership of the China of the future may well pass to the progressive forces outside the Kuomintang.

## OFFICIAL FIGURES

Compare with Carlson p. 9

Official Chinese figures issued to the press, July 7, 1943. Japanese troops engaged in China as of July 7, each year:

1937—used 26 divisions—832,000 men  
1938—used 39½ divisions—916,000 men  
1939—used 35 divisions—1,120,000 men  
1940—used 25 divisions—1,120,000 men  
1941—used 36½ divisions—1,168,000 men  
1942—used 42½ divisions—1,360,000 men  
1943—used 42 divisions—1,344,000 men

Japanese casualties—July 7, 1937 to July 7, 1943:

Killed—688,009  
Wounded—1,374,386  
Prisoner—22,064

Rear troops—64,000 killed and wounded.

Each Japanese Division at full strength consists of 25,000 men, plus special troops, plus reserves, equals total strength each division—32,000 men.

## Sun Fo's Comment

90% vote in Communist elections  
see p. 17

## Erroneous

Who selected Swing as  
"friend of China"?  
Did I.P.R. ever hear of  
Pearl Buck? Paul Hoffman?  
Gov. Edison? Wendell Willkie?  
Dr. Donald Van Slyke? or Mrs. E.C. Carter  
or Mrs. Henry R. Luce?

## FAR EASTERN SURVEY—A, 1943

### JAPAN'S ARMY ON CHINA'S FRONTS—Guenther Stein

According to Chinese estimates, the over-all strength of the Japanese army consists of almost 100 regular divisions averaging less than 20,000 men each, plus several dozen reserve divisions in different stages of recruitment and training.

... The China theater still ranks a close second, with an unchanged total of about 30 divisions.

North of the Yellow River, the Japanese are at present maintaining about nine infantry divisions, eleven independent brigades and one cavalry group brigade. . . .

The second front, adjoining the first to the south, covers the entire area within the wide Yellow River bend—that is, the bulk of Shanai and a small part of Honan Province. . . .

... in the Taiheng Mountain Range. Here guerrillas of various inner political complexion are still supported by units of regular Chinese troops. Several Japanese divisions fighting in dozens of small columns, and recently coordinated and generally aided . . . have been concentrated against these mountain strongholds, so far with limited success.

The third front, north of the Yellow River, borders on the first and second to the east. . . .

The fourth front, extending over the coastal area of Hopei and part of Shantung to the Yellow River, has also more than indirect communications with Free China through the numerous wide gaps between the Japanese lines along the main railroads and highways. . . .

The huge second region of Japanese occupation along the Yangtze has at present only about nine Japanese divisions and seven independent brigades. . . .

The remaining two China fronts are completely isolated enemy outposts, . . . . The southern coastal front, in Kwantung and small parts of Fukien Province, is at present being held by no more than one division, three brigades, and a few small isolated units of Japanese troops, . . . .

The southwestern front, finally, consisting of two small, disconnected sectors in Yunnan Province, has at present perhaps two or two and a half Japanese division, probably not of full strength. . . .

## FAR EASTERN SURVEY—May 3, 1944

### DEMOCRACY IN CHINA—(Speech of Sun Fo)

A CHINESE SPEAKS— . . . Speaking of the reorganization of the Kuomintang in 1924, on the basis of the party constitution drafted by Sun Yat-sen in that year, Dr. Sun said:

For example, could we today carry out a general election? Not only the common people but also the middle and upper classes of our people are unfamiliar with the habits of holding elections. This is a known fact . . . .

The New York Times, London Times, Life, Time and Fortune are all papers that represent capitalist groups. They all sympathize with the Chinese Communists. Their charge is that the Kuomintang cannot carry out democracy and that it rejects the existence of other parties when it is in power.

Of course, this is an erroneous view. . . .

In fact, other parties do exist in China. As soon as we realize the principle of democracy in the postwar world, this misunderstanding on the part of British and American public opinion will be automatically removed. . . .

### AN AMERICAN SPEAKS —

Representative of the attitude of American friends of China in this country is the following commentary, taken from one of Mr. Raymond Gram Swing's recent broadcasts:

Booklet circulated by  
U.C.R.

## WAR-TIME CHINA

By Maxwell S. Stewart

L. P. R. Pamphlets No. 10

AMERICAN COUNCIL  
INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS

NEW YORK • SAN FRANCISCO • HONOLULU

1944

### ABOUT THE AUTHOR

MAXWELL S. STEWART is Editor of *Public Affairs Pamphlets* and Associate Editor of *The Nation*. He knows China well, having lived there for six years, during four of which he taught at Yenching University in Peking, and has written extensively on the Far East.

An objective statement

Today, in her seventh year of war, and in spite of her new international recognition, China's internal position is perhaps more difficult than ever before in her modern history. Failure to appreciate this has led to confusion in the minds of many Americans. We have been filled with admiration at the way in which the people of China, in the face of almost incredible hardships and disappointments, have stood up to the Japanese year after year without giving in. When Japan attacked in 1937, few people thought that China had a chance of successful resistance. Most observers expected her to yield without a serious struggle. When she did stand and fight, nearly everyone predicted that she would be beaten within a month. But to the amazement and admiration of the world, China did not collapse. On the contrary, her people seemed to find in war greater strength and unity than they had ever found in peace.

Myth ?

So a sort of myth grew up of Chinese invincibility and indestructibility. China, we assured ourselves, could "take it" indefinitely. And since China is fighting on our side against totalitarian Japan, we naturally came to think of her as one of the great democracies—the one country on which we could rely for democratic leadership in post-war Asia.

### WISHFUL THINKING VS. UNDERSTANDING CHINA

Yet in this idealized picture of China there was much ignorance and wishful thinking. It did not correspond to the facts any more than our previous picture of China as weak, backward and supine. It is just as serious to overestimate China's capacity as to underestimate it. Nor does it help China if we expect her to do the impossible. For the miracle of Chinese resistance—and it is miraculous—has not been accomplished without a price. China has suffered tremendous losses in men and materials. Her people have undergone physical hardships almost inconceivable to us.

an I.P.R. authority  
anonymous observers

Contradicted by:  
"The Communist" - Aug. 1942 p. 66  
"New Masses" - July 7, 1942 p. 65  
"The Communist" - Apr. 1942 p. 64

Correct medical information  
obtainable from U.C.R.

What reports?

"Horse + buggy Constitution"

On the other side, we have reports of threatened civil war, of inflation and economic breakdown, of profiteering and chiseling —with which we are not unfamiliar in this country—and of military incapacity. One of our leading military experts has described the Chinese troops as "poorly led and incapable of effectively utilizing modern arms." Other qualified observers have asserted that the domestic policies of the Chungking government are becoming increasingly reactionary, and that there is little likelihood of a genuine democracy being developed by the present leadership.

With the fall of Hankow and Canton the Chinese freely abandoned a fixed defense of cities and towns. Recognizing their inferiority in planes, tanks, guns and all other types of modern equipment, they began to fight a war of movement and attrition rather than attempting the defense of strong points. Fighting became less heavy. Losses in killed and wounded were lighter. But resistance continued. And though the Japanese were usually able to march where they wished, they were frequently surrounded and cut off and they suffered several serious setbacks. They were not able to destroy the Chinese armies.

As a result of being thus almost completely cut off from the outside world, the Chinese armies have had to fight with practically no air support, no heavy artillery, no armored equipment, and even without adequate transport equipment. Worst of all, in many respects, has been the shortage of drugs and medical supplies. The wounded have not received adequate care, and hundreds of thousands of Chinese soldiers have been rendered unfit for duty by cholera, typhus, plague, malaria and tuberculosis. In the last few years the military losses from preventable sickness have been much greater than the losses incurred in battle.

Against this historical background, the degree of national unity that has been achieved in China since 1937 under Chiang Kai-shek's leadership is truly remarkable.

The prospects for an early realization of Sun Yat-sen's dream of constitutional government in China were further advanced in September 1943, when the Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang, or Nationalist Party, voted to summon a People's Congress no later than one year after the war to ratify the Draft Constitution. Although this action merely provided for carrying out plans that had been made in 1936, it was nevertheless good news to the progressive groups in China, which had been urging more rapid progress in introducing democratic institutions. A few months earlier, reports from Chungking had indicated that the Kuomintang leaders had determined to postpone the establishment of a constitutional government for some years after the close of hostilities. In announcing the new decisions, Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek declared that after the constitution was adopted, the Kuomintang would take its place on an equal footing with such other political parties as might develop. He pledged that all parties would have equal treatment with respect to freedom of assembly, organization, speech and publication.

Many Chinese are not satisfied with the Draft Constitution, however, regarding it as unwieldy and undemocratic.

Another war-time step toward democracy has been the promulgation of a system of self-government for the *hsiens* or counties of China. A program was drawn up in August 1939 by a group of government experts called together by the Ministry of Interior.



More critics

however, that this system of presentation is unnatural and cumbersome and that in practice the so-called self-governing bodies have been dominated by the landlords and merchants. Real self-government, even in the villages and country districts, is still far from being achieved.

Critics assert,

600,000 Japs  
See p.p. 26, 9  
I.P.R. research?  
see

China's economic weakness is undoubtedly one of the main explanations for the fact that her huge armies have been unable to drive a much smaller number of Japanese into the sea. No one knows just how many men are under arms in China. But the total is known to be at least 3,000,000, while Japan probably does not have more than 600,000 soldiers in China. Some American military critics have expressed rather disparaging opinions of the quality of China's armies, calling them poorly organized and inefficient as a fighting force. They have even accused China of manufacturing "paper victories," that is, of claiming a great victory in a communiqué when what actually took place was only a minor maneuver.

"Paper Victories"

Then why quote them?

We may discount many of these criticisms as the opinions of persons whose information about China is limited. Yet one of China's own generals was highly critical of China's military leadership after a Chinese setback in the spring of 1943. Reviewing the campaign in a Chinese newspaper, General Ch'en Ch'eng wrote that the Japanese success was obtained because of "our negligence." He specifically criticized China's failure to coordinate the military, political and economic aspects of the war.

Gen. Chen Cheng criticizes himself. see p. 79, 85

The weakness of the Chinese Army is due to lack of weapons and supplies—the reasons for which we have already examined—together with poor training and inferior leadership.

Whose opinion is this?

TRADITIONS TO BE OVERCOME

For Generalissimo's powers (Nov. 2, 1942) see p. 20

This latter statement should not be taken as a criticism of Chiang Kai-shek, although the Generalissimo has long occupied the post of Commander-in-Chief of the Chinese armies. Actually, the difficulty lies in the fact that Chiang does not have full control over most of the huge army that is nominally under his command.

Does this refer to Communist troops?

Political groups in China are not clearly marked and are constantly shifting. Hence any brief account, like the one below, is bound to be oversimplified and may not be up to date in detail.

Of the many conflicting factions within the Kuomintang, four are of outstanding importance: (1) the business-banking group headed by H. H. Kung, Minister of Finance; (2) the "Political Science Group" containing both business men and landlords; (3) the political bloc known as the CC clique, led by two brothers, Chen Li-fu and Chen Kuo-fu; and (4) the military clique dominated by the "Whampoa Group" of officers, of which General Ho Ying-chin, Minister of War, is the leading figure.

Hague, Kelly + Flynn?  
Martin, Barton + Fish?

The C.C. Pai is a Chinese version of an American political machine. It has, indeed, been called China's Tammany Hall.

Himm Ler Chen? or  
Dies + Coudert?

To buttress this political power the CC group several years ago set up its own secret police patterned closely on the Nazi Gestapo. This police has directed its activities chiefly against students, university professors and other intellectuals suspected of either democratic or Communist leanings.

CHIANG KAI-SHEK'S LEADERSHIP ESSENTIAL

"Time for a Change?"

The fact that Chiang is President of the Republic, Prime Minister and Commander-in-Chief of the Army has led many people to think of him as a dictator. This is hardly accurate. Although on paper his powers are great, actually he serves as a sort of balance-wheel, stabilizing the conflicting forces of the various groups. Changes in policy usually result, not from any initiative on the part of Chiang Kai-shek, but from a realignment of the pressures operating on him. Even Chiang's enemies pay tribute to the skill with which he has maintained the stability of the National Government during the past fifteen years. It is doubtful whether any other Chinese leader could have held the government together during this critical period. Chiang's real authority derives from his own outstanding qualities of leadership and from the enormous prestige which he enjoys among all factions in China and among the people at large.

1927 split. See p. 1-2

THE COMMUNISTS

For the past fifteen years the Communist Party has provided the chief opposition to the Kuomintang or government party. During the revolution of 1927, when the Kuomintang came into power, the Kuomintang and the Chinese Communist Party worked in close alliance. Then a split occurred and under Chiang Kai-shek's leadership the Kuomintang turned against the Communists. The latter set up a soviet regime in Kiangsi province but after many campaigns they were ousted from this region by government troops and made their famous "Long March" to Shensi in the northwest. Campaigns against them continued. Finally, in December 1936, occurred the dramatic kidnapping of Chiang Kai-shek by the "Young Marshal," Chang Hsueh-liang, who was sympathetic with the then widespread demand for a united front against the growing menace of Japan. A united front agreement was in fact concluded in 1937, shortly before the Japanese attack. The government agreed to stop fighting the Communists and the Communists agreed to place themselves under Chiang Kai-shek's leadership and to modify their more radical social policies.

See agreement p. 3

As China is not like any other country, so Chinese Communism has no parallel elsewhere. You can find in it resemblances to Communist movements in other countries and you can also find resemblances to the "grass-roots" Populist movements that have figured in American history. Because there is no other effective opposition party in China, the Communists have attracted the support of many progressive and patriotic Chinese who know little of the doctrines of Karl Marx or Stalin and care less. Raymond Gram Swing described Chinese Communists as "agrarian radicals trying to establish democratic practices."

Like Stalin + Browder, no longer really Communists.

(see p. 61)

According to the agreement entered into between the Communists and the National Government in 1937, the Red armies were to receive about \$700,000 in Chinese currency monthly to meet their payrolls, and they were also to be armed and equipped like any other branch of the Chinese Army. Actually, the Communist troops say they have received no pay from the National Government since December 1940, and no ammunition has been sent them since October 1939. Even medical supplies have been held up, although three truckloads sent from America in 1942 eventually reached them.

Battle, Dec. 1940. See p. 14

Future possibilities

I.P.R. observers?

See Carlsons report, 1938.

Bisson's official figures p. 25

Before 1941 and since 1943

Ambitious Ho Ying Chin?

Does I.P.R. know Russia's attitude?

Statement not found in I.P.R. publications

True or false?

Agreement of 1937, incorrectly quoted here. See pp. 243

Contrary to many people's impression, no munitions have ever been shipped from the Soviet Union to the Chinese Red armies. Had the Soviets desired to send such supplies, they probably would have been unable to do so because the Communist areas have been blockaded by 300,000 to 600,000 Chungking troops. All supplies shipped from Russia have been sent to the National Government.

Despite the blockade, the Communist and guerrilla armies, in the opinion of some observers, have in recent years conducted a more vigorous campaign against the Japanese than have the Chungking armies. While we have no way of measuring the effectiveness of the behind-the-lines guerrilla activities, reports by such competent observers as Lieut. Col. Evans F. Carlson of the United States Marine Corps indicate a rather remarkable military efficiency. Figures on enemy casualties also seem to show a relative gain in the efficiency of the troops affiliated with the Eighth Route Army and the New Fourth Army as compared with the Kuomintang armies—although some observers cast doubt on these figures.

Since 1941 the tension between the Kuomintang and the Communists has been almost at the breaking point.

Americans returning from China report that incidents are constantly occurring between the rival forces, any one of which could easily lead to a full-fledged civil war if either party so desired. There is also constant danger lest some ambitious general attack the Communists in hope of capitalizing on the prevailing anti-Communist sentiment in Chungking to strengthen his political or military position.

It is scarcely necessary to point out the importance of preventing civil war in China at this time. Such a conflict would not only undermine China's military effectiveness and thus play into the hands of Japan, but it might cause serious difficulties within the United Nations. At present the United States, Britain and Russia are agreed on the necessity of preventing civil conflict. Should such a conflict arise, they might become divided as to the best way of dealing with the situation.

In what many observers regarded as an effort to quiet American, British and Russian fears of a civil war in China, Chiang Kai-shek issued an official statement on September 13, 1943, declaring that the "Chinese Government does not have any particular demand to make on the Chinese Communist Party" and was prepared "to be tolerant." He added that the "Communist problem is purely a political problem and should be solved by political means."

But then he went on to accuse the Communists of "assaulting national government troops" and "forcefully occupying our national territory." He repeated demands previously made by the Kuomintang for the disbandment of the Eighth Route Army and the dissolution of all Communist governmental organizations, including the local governments, while offering no concessions to the Communist demand for guarantees for the rights of a minority party. He demanded that the Communist Party "redeem its pledge" made in its declaration of 1937: (1) to struggle for the realization of the Three People's Principles; (2) to abandon the policy of overthrowing the Kuomintang regime by force; (3) to dissolve its present government organization and by carrying into practice the principles of democracy thus help to bring about

Proposals made by Communists,  
accepted by Govt. p.p. 293

Cannot find this report.  
Cairo Declaration, see below

I.P.R. conclusions

Speech on Jap Propaganda  
by H.E. Wei Tao Ming p. 85

Question of Veracity:  
Roosevelt vs. Stewart

Abridged.

from "Our Job in the Pacific," by Henry A. Wallace.  
Published by Institute of Pacific Relations, 1944.

the political unity of the Chinese nation; (4) to disband the Red Army by incorporating it into the National Army under the direct command of the Military Council of the National Government.

These are, of course, demands which the Communists accepted in principle at the outset of the war. They have carried out some of them and have stated their willingness to carry out all of them provided the National Government takes practical steps to safeguard their democratic rights as a minority party.

At the Cairo conference it is reported that "the conferees took cognizance of the fact that internal differences between the troops of Chiang Kai-shek and the Chinese Communist armies must be overcome before China could be used as a primary base for an attack against Japan."

Our analysis makes it clear that revitalization of China's war effort calls for political readjustments. Because China is sensitive—and with reason—regarding foreign interference in her internal affairs, this problem may be hard to solve. Experience with a century of Western imperialism has made the Chinese suspicious of foreign influence of any kind. The Chinese, regardless of party, are determined that Chinese national policy shall never again be dictated by foreigners. Because of the depth of this feeling, the American, British and Soviet governments have been hesitant to offer advice to the Chinese government on matters of domestic policy. They have, however, limited their economic and military assistance because of fear that any supplies they send might be used in civil strife rather than against the Japanese.

## THE CAIRO DECLARATION

*Statement released to the press following the conference at Cairo  
December 1, 1943.*

President Roosevelt, Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek and Prime Minister Churchill, together with their respective military and diplomatic advisers, have completed a conference in North Africa.

The following general statement was issued:

"The several military missions have agreed upon future military operations against Japan. The Three Great Allies expressed their resolve to bring unrelenting pressure against their brutal enemies by sea, land, and air. This pressure is already rising.

"The Three Great Allies are fighting this war to restrain and punish the aggression of Japan. They covet no gain for themselves and have no thought of territorial expansion. It is their purpose that Japan shall be stripped of all the islands in the Pacific which she has seized or occupied since the beginning of the first World War in 1914, and that all the territories Japan has stolen from the Chinese, such as Manchuria, Formosa, and the Pescadores, shall be restored to the Republic of China. Japan will also be expelled from all other territories which she has taken by violence and greed. The aforesaid three great powers, mindful of the enslavement of the people of Korea, are determined that in due course Korea shall become free and independent.

"With these objects in view the three Allies, in harmony with those of the United Nations at war with Japan, will continue to persevere in the serious and prolonged operations necessary to procure the unconditional surrender of Japan."

THE ATLANTIC CHARTER

Abridged.

*Declaration of Principles signed by President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill, at sea, August 12, 1941. This was subscribed to by 26 members of the United Nations in the Declaration of Washington, January 1, 1942. Other nations subsequently adhered to the Declaration of Washington, bringing the total (May 1944) to 35.*

Joint declaration of the President of the United States of America and the Prime Minister, Mr. Churchill, representing His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom, being met together, deem it right to make known certain common principles in the national policies of their respective countries on which they base their hopes for a better future for the world.

*First*, their countries seek no aggrandizement, territorial or other;

*Second*, they desire to see no territorial changes that do not accord with the freely expressed wishes of the peoples concerned;

*Third*, they respect the right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live; and they wish to see sovereign rights and self-government restored to those who have been forcibly deprived of them;

FAR EASTERN SURVEY

AUGUST 23, 1944 VOL. XIII NO. 17

MINORITIES IN THE SOVIET FAR EAST

BY OWEN LATTIMORE

Mr. Lattimore, Director of the Page School of International Relations and co-author of *The Making of Modern China*, accompanied Vice-President Henry Wallace on his recent trip to the Far East.

The Soviet prestige in Asia today has little to do with propaganda. It is noteworthy that Soviet prestige is highest among those who are nearest to the Soviet frontier and influenced primarily by what they know, and by the practical comparisons which they are able to make. Among such people the Soviets are rated highly not because of promises of what they might do for others, but because of the impressive evidence of what they have actually done in raising their own standards.

The implications of the Russian policy are evident. China and the Soviet Union have a common frontier in Mongolia, Chinese Turkistan (Sinkiang) and Manchuria, and along this frontier minority populations occupy large and strategically important areas. Anywhere along the frontier, except in Manchuria, you could move the line 800 miles south and still affect the personal destinies of no Russians and very few Chinese. This situation gives these minorities a great deal of bargaining power. Therefore, their political importance is great. They have more option than weak minority populations usually have. They can get what they want by taking sides. This is true to some extent even as far as Iran and Afghanistan.

THEY SHALL NOT SLEEP. By Leland Stowe, New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1944. pp. 299. \$3.00.

MIDWAY IN THE present war Leland Stowe has written a provocative and exciting book containing some material which could not be rumbled when he was at the various fronts. To such material he has added in swift, brilliant passages a sort of synthesis of the several parts of the war placed in a more global setting. A minority of Chinese, British and Americans will not like some of his reporting on China, Burma and India, but he is sincerely convinced that he owed it to himself and to his friends in Asia to write with complete candor.

Mr. Stowe sympathetically sketches the complex problems which the Chinese face in their government's attempt to advance democracy through a one-party system. The story of "The Burma Road Racket" has rarely been told with greater understanding. Patriotic Chinese have already expressed their debt to Mr. Stowe for his forthright description of this situation which did so much to nullify the brilliant and costly patriotic achievement of tens of thousands of hard-working Chinese in so rapidly building that miracle road.

A handful of British and perhaps a number of Americans will read the pages on India—"The Bus the Japs Missed" and "Independence?—Too Late and Too Little"—with the feeling that the author has not given the British due credit for Indian progress. Mr. Stowe is one of those who believe that the Cripps negotiations broke down on the question of the Viceroy's veto powers over the Indian members of the government.

In Russia Mr. Stowe had exceptional facilities at the front and elsewhere and gives a vivid account of the humor, the heroism and the single-mindedness of the Russian people. Although his chapter, "Can We Live With Soviet Russia," is primarily addressed to his American readers, many Indians and other members of the British Empire and many Chinese will welcome his views, for they know that it will be easier for them to cooperate with Russia if there is effective cooperation between the United States and the U.S.R.R. As in Eve Curie's book *Journey Among Warriors*, so in *They Shall Not Sleep* many will find the pages on Russia the most illuminating. Just as her Polish back-

ground gave Miss Curie exceptional credentials for writing about Russia, so Mr. Stowe's earlier connection with the Finnish cause enhances his authority in writing on Russia. Those in other countries who look with wistful uncertainty as to the degree to which the people and government of the United States are prepared to engage in political warfare now and accept real responsibility in a post-war society of nations will be grateful to Mr. Stowe for his closing chapters: "Shall We Win the War but Lose the Peace" and "Tomorrow is a Different Day."

In his concluding chapters Mr. Stowe makes an eloquent and vigorous criticism of some aspects of United States foreign policy and of the State Department. He urges the need of stating more specific and inspiring war aims and appeals to the American people to rid themselves of the complacency and indifference which he feels is making the United States "the last great stronghold of conservatism, perhaps even of reaction." *New York, March 1944*

EDWARD C. CARTER

Problems of one party  
Democracy in Russia →  
China

Burma Road expose  
praised by Chinese  
patriots.

See I.P.R. review of Stowe's  
previous book.

Isolationism returning?  
"New Masses" Nov. 9, 1943  
p. 70

Not member I.P.R. staff

# Pacific Affairs

arc.

March 1944

From Mukden to Pearl Harbor

Tyler Dennett 93

<sup>1</sup> *Peace and War. A Review of American Policy, 1931-1941.* Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1943. pp. 853. \$2.00.

There are in the published record very important omissions. important factors in shaping policy. And then there was the Kellogg-Briand Pact, which the American Government had sponsored. It had been compromised at birth, without teeth or a place to grow them, but it was very popular. Although an encumbrance, for it was ill-timed, it could not be abandoned. It cast a pacifist shadow over the entire decade. Equally popular had been the Washington Treaties with their limitation on capital ships, the non-fortification agreement which mortgaged the future in the Pacific until 1936, and the series of disarmament conferences which began in 1927 and were continued, intermittently for nearly ten years. By 1931 the old American slogans, Open Door and Integrity of China, had become fighting words and the terms do not even

appear in the index to *Peace and War*, but the ideas survived in other words. "War debts" had disappeared as a topic but its ghost haunted the halls of Congress.

August 1937, was, according to Secretary Hull, the dividing date in the decade. At that time he began proceeding "on the theory that Japan definitely contemplates securing domination over as many hundreds of millions of people as possible in Eastern Asia and gradually extending her control through the Pacific islands to the Dutch East Indies and elsewhere, thereby dominating in practical effect that one-half of the world; . . . and that Germany is equally bent on becoming the dominating colossus of continental Europe."

Ambassador Grew in a long telegram from Tokyo (September 12, 1940) supplied a telling phrase with which to characterize the policy not only down to August 1937, but beyond. He wrote: "the uses of diplomacy are bankrupt in dealing with such powers [as Japan] . . . We must strive by every means to preserve the status quo in the Pacific, at least until the war in Europe has been won or lost. This cannot be done, in my opinion, nor can we further protect our interests properly and adequately *merely by the expression of disapproval and carefully keeping a record thereof.*" The italics, supplied by the writer, aptly and almost scornfully describe the policy; they are worth remembering to be used again some day for, such is the structure of the American Government, they will doubtless be appropriate. "Watchful waiting" was the old phrase for a situation in which public opinion dawdled behind uncertain leaders.

The President's "quarantine speech" at Chicago (October 5, 1937), his first on the subject, for which the country was unprepared and which was therefore badly received, was vague and carried the hint, definitely not of war, but of economic sanctions. He said: "We are determined to keep out of war." The instruction to Mr. Norman Davis, two weeks later, about to set out for the ill-fated Brussels Conference, was to bear in mind that public opinion in the United States had expressed itself with emphatic determination that the United States keep out of war. Secretary Hull's definition of policy, sent to Congress with a covering word of approval from the President when the neutrality legislation was under consideration in the summer of 1939, contained the statement that "we should shape our policies so as to keep from being drawn into war." In his annual message of January 1940 the President said scornfully that nobody had asked or "expects" to ask the consent of the people "to the sending of American youth to fight on the soil of Europe." Nor was the country being better prepared to send the boys to the Pacific. The Navy was unprepared for war; so was the Army, and the air forces; and so were the American people. And was not the immediate reason that ever since September 1931, the possibility of war; later its probability, was being played consistently down and never up? Was not the policy, actually, hush-hush? There are in *Peace and War* only a very few proof-texts to prove the contrary.

In short, the truth seems to be that, having decided at the beginning of the decade under review, that the United States ought not to fight Japan (excepting only if the latter actually invaded American territory, which seemed improbable) the American Government took care that the American public should not be worked up to a mood any more warlike than that of its leaders. Of this situation Japan took due and accurate notice.

All of which is now water over the dam. The importance of recalling this selection of events from the selection of documents under review is not to criticize but to recover some wisdom useful for the years which lie ahead. Always the first consideration for the American people is to make sure that at any given moment, relative to the task in prospect, there is a sufficient naval, military and air force to deal promptly with international disorder, to give political security. Having made sure of that, then let us seek earnestly for measures short of war, political, diplomatic, economic, to reduce as much as possible the probability that the force will have to be employed. But let's not again put the cart before the horse.

Neither Republicans  
nor Democrats  
frank.

# BEHIND THE OPEN DOOR

The Story of American Far Eastern Relations

by Foster Rhea Dulles

edited by Marguerite Ann Stewart

A Cooperative Project

between American Council,

INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS

and

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The Soviet Union and the United States have been like-minded in their opposition to Japanese aggression and in their common sympathy for China. The Soviets, who had concluded a nonaggression pact with China in 1937, signed a similar treaty with Japan in 1941, but not out of friendship for Japan. Their purpose was to protect Russia's eastern flank in order that she might be the more free to defend her western front against the far greater menace of Germany. In signing this pact, moreover, Russia frankly made it clear that she would continue to extend her aid and sympathy to China.

Both the historical record and their present-day position clearly show that the United States and Soviet Russia are equally concerned in the defeat of Japan and the creation of a strong, independent China. There should therefore be no conflict in the postwar policies of these two great Powers fronting on the Pacific. It is highly important that they should reach a full understanding on all Far Eastern problems. A cordial American-Russian relationship would contribute much to the future peace of Asia.

I.P.R. PAMPHLETS, written for the general reader, draw on the results of twenty years of research by the Institute of Pacific Relations. The Institute is a private, international, non-profit organization devoted to the scientific study of the problems of the Pacific area. It does not seek to promote any particular point of view.

The American Council of the Institute of Pacific Relations does not express opinions on public affairs. Responsibility for all statements of fact or opinion in this pamphlet rests solely with the author.

Purpose of Russo-Japanese pact.

Aid to China

Identity of Soviet & American interests.

Statement of I.P.R.



SECTION TWO: COMMUNIST PUBLICATIONS <sup>38</sup>

Kidnaping, a Japanese plot

NEW MASSES—December 29, 1936, page 3

"The Chinese Chessboard. The kidnaping of Chiang Kai-shek is the dramatic expression of a series of moves and counter-moves, with Japan playing a deep game. By Theodore Draper."

"The Shensi kidnaping, if it could somehow be pinned on the Chinese Communists and the Soviet Government, would give the Japanese Foreign Office the opportunity to say: 'Chang Hueh Liang has demonstrated to us in person the necessity of the German-Japanese agreement.'

(These) first Japanese attempts to implicate the Soviet Union were false not only because of the strict non-interference by the Soviet Government in the internal affairs of China, but because the Soviet government, on principle, is opposed to any action which would disunite China. A unified China is a bulwark of world peace."

"There is little hazard in stating that when the whole story of the kidnaping finally emerges, if it ever does, Japanese imperialism will be implicated at every point.

Meanwhile, in the summer of 1935, the Chinese Communist Party announced that the old policy of fighting Nanking was altogether inadequate to meet the existing situation.

United Communist-Labor  
front

NEW MASSES—April 13, 1937, page 3

"The People's Front in Great Britain. Labor-Communist Unity First. A leading British political scientist sees this as the necessary initial step. By Harold J. Laski."

"It seems a simple step to argue that an agreed program between the Communist, Labor and the Opposition Liberals is the way to achieve that end (defeat of the National Government.)

But I believe that such negotiations would be undesirable unless they were first preceded by the achievement of unity between the Labor and Communist Parties, etc., etc."

Support China

THE COMMUNIST—August, 1937

"Review of the Month" by Alex Bittelman

"The defense of the integrity of China, of its independence, peace and democracy is a task which the people of this country cannot shirk without gravely endangering their own peace and democracy. The cause of China is our cause no matter from what angle we view it. We must support the Chinese people against the Japanese aggressors."

"Our demands upon the Government must be: collaborate with all peace forces of the world, especially China and the Soviet Union, for the purpose of seeing to it that these treaties are honored and observed."

"Support the struggle of the Chinese people for national unity, independence and democracy. Curb the fascist aggressors everywhere. Enforce the Kellogg pact. Support the peace policies of the Soviet Union."

Preserve World Peace

NEW MASSES—August 24, 1937, page 12

"American Policy and the Far East" (Editorial).

"As we go to press there are suggestions that Pres. Roosevelt will make a formal declaration on the Sino-Jap crisis. Unless that statement contains a program of action to stop the Japanese aggressors in their sanguinary trek across China, it will be another evasion of the crucial issues involved. Should the U. S. Government take a determined lead in collective action with England, France and the Soviet Union against Tokyo, it will not only win the respect of the American people, but will take a necessary step in preserving World peace."

See previous page Dec. 29, 1936  
also p. 4 for denials of  
Communist connection with  
Sian.

Communist terms  
accepted.  
see terms from Year Book p 2  
and 3.

### Mao Tse-tung Directive

70%, 20%, 10%

1st

2nd

3rd

Comes the Revolution  
Stalemate  
Defeat  
Armed Force

THE COMMUNIST—September, 1937

"The Sino Jap War and the American People" by Lawrence Hearn.

"Chiang at Sian definitely promised to fulfill the following 6 terms:

1. Kuomintang and National Government to be reorganized with elimination of pro-Jap elements and inclusion of anti-Jap elements.
2. Allpolitical prisoners shall be released and civil rights of the people guaranteed.
3. The Communist suppression policy shall be terminated and an alliance made with the Chinese Red Army to fight Jap aggression.
4. A national salvation congress of all groups, parties, armies and circles shall be convoked to determine the anti-Japanese salvation measures.
5. Cooperation with other countries sympathetic with China resistance to Japan.
6. Other measures for National Salvation shall be put into practice.

On February 10, the members of the Kuomintang Executive Committee received from the Chinese Communist Party, on condition that the Kuomintang would support the promises made by Chiang Kai-shek at Sian, a pledge to carry out the following terms:

1. Stop organizing armed uprisings for the overthrow of the Nanking Government.
2. Change the Soviet Government to the Government of the Special Region of the Republic of China and the Red Army into the National Revolutionary Army under the direct leadership of the Central Government and the Military Committee in Nanking.
3. Enforce a thorough democratic system of universal suffrage in the regions under the Government of the Special Region.
4. Cease expropriating the property of landlords and execute persistently the common program of the anti-Jap united front."

In October, 1937, when the 18th Group Army left Yen-an for north Shansi, Mao Tse-tung gave the following directive at a meeting of the communist political workers:

"The Sino-Japanese war affords our Party an excellent opportunity for expansion. Our fixed policy should be seventy per cent expansion, twenty per cent dealing with the Kuomintang, and ten per cent resisting Japan. There are three stages in carrying out this fixed policy: The first is a compromising stage, in which self sacrifice should be made to show our outward obedience to the Central Government and adherence to the Three People's Principles, but, in reality this will serve as camouflage for the existence and development of our Party.

The second is a contending stage, in which two or three years should be spent in laying the foundation of our Party's political and military powers, and developing these until we can match and break the Kuomintang, and eliminate the influence of the latter north of the Yellow River. While we are waiting for an unusual turn of events, we should give the Japanese invader certain concessions.

The third is an offensive stage, in which our forces should penetrate deeply into Central China; sever the communications of the Central Government troops in various sectors, isolate and disperse them until we are ready for the counter-offensive and wrest the leadership from the hands of the Kuomintang."

(3) The resolutions adopted at Yen-an by the Central Political Bureau of the Chinese Communist Party read:

(A) If the war ends in victory, the Central Government troops will certainly be reduced and exhausted, whereas the Red Army will surely continue to gain in strength and size. It will be in a position to achieve a victory of the October Revolution magnitude.

(B) If the war ends in a reverse, the country will be divided into three parts, Japan occupying the Northeast and North China, the Central Government holding precariously the Southwest, and the Communist Party seizing the Northwest.

(C) If the war ends in defeat, the Kuomintang will vanish and the Communist Party become an underground party.

(D) It should be unmistakably recognized that armed force is the determining factor in Chinese politics, wherefore we should avail ourselves of the present war to augment fully our military power, so as to form a basis for our struggle for revolutionary leadership in the future."

Philip J. Jaffe in  
Yenan

T.A. Bisson, Owen Lattimore  
Agnes Smedley, Peggy Snow

Lewis + Browder  
American Trotskyites

Sympathy for oppressed  
American people

University

90,000 troops

See p.p. 4-38  
No connection with Sian

NEW MASSES—Oct. 12, 1937, page 3

"China's Communists Told Me. A specialist in Far Eastern Affairs interviews the leading men of Red China in their home territories. By Philip J. Jaffe."

"15 days before Japanese troops opened fire on a Chinese garrison near Peiping. I was seated in the one bare room which is the home of Mao Tse-tung, the political leader of the Chinese Communist Party. Mao Tse-tung said to me: 'The United front is inevitable because Japan's invasion farther into the heart of China is inevitable.' General Chu Teh (said): 'A form of the United front has now existed for several months and has resulted in a large measure of internal peace. In a war with Japan, it will not only be a question of regular troops. No war against Japan will be successful without a correct organization of the peasants and workers, and this only the Red Army can successfully carry out.'"

"On August 22 the first stage of the united front—that of military co-operation—was concluded between the Nanking and Red armies. In the words of the official communique from Nanking 'the Chinese Government and the Communist Army have been fighting for the last 10 years; this is the official conclusion of the war.'"

"While in Yenan, our party which included beside myself, T. A. Bisson of the Foreign Policy Association, and Owen Lattimore, editor of Pacific Affairs, stayed at the Foreign Office. We had barely finished our first dinner in Yenan, when guests arrived: Ting Ling, China's foremost woman writer; Li Li-san, an old associate of Dr. Sun Yat-sen; the only two Non-Chinese then in the region, Agnes Smedley and Peggy Snow, wife of the American writer, Edgar Snow, and many Communist leaders."

"Our interviews with Mao Tse-tung were many and on a host of topics: the evolution of Nanking's policy; the inner political struggle within Nanking; the Sian incident; the United front; the student movement; the role of other powers in Far Eastern affairs; and the perspectives of China's future development, etc."

"We took time off to answer a host of questions, this time by him. What is the comparative strength of the Socialist and Communist parties in America? Did we know the life-stories of John L. Lewis and Earl Browder? The strength of the American labor unions? The Trotskyites? American official opinion on the Far East?"

"Then Mao Tse-tung continued: 'The Chinese revolution is not an exception, it is one part of the world revolution. It has special characteristics, but fundamentally it is similar to the Spanish, French, American and British struggles. These struggles are all progressive. It is this similarity that evokes the broad sympathy of the American masses and their concern with the fate of the Chinese people. We, on our part, are also concerned with the fate of the American people. . . . The American people are, of course, oppressed from the inside, but not by feudal forces. It is the hope common to all of us that our two countries shall work together.'"

"Chu Teh, military leader: At the Peoples Anti-Japanese Military Political University at Yenan, he teaches both military tactics and Marxist-Leninist principles. From 1922 to 1925 Chu Teh studied political and economic science, philosophy and military strategy in Germany. As a result he speaks German freely."

"Beginning with Aug. 1, 1927, when together with another famous Red commander, Ho Lung, he organized the Nanchang uprising, he participated in exploits which have now become legend. In November 1931 the first All-Soviet Congress in Jinkin, Kiangsi, bestowed on him the title of Commander-in-Chief of the Army. Even in Nanking I heard many call Chu Teh the greatest military genius in all China."

"The Red Army in this region under our direct command numbers about 90,000' he began. 'In this region professional full time partisans number from 10,000 to 20,000. The number of part time partisans is much larger. In other partisan areas there are various groups numbering from 1000 to 3000 soldiers, but it is hard to estimate the total figures; we ourselves are not certain about this.'"

"Chu Teh replied: 'Our regular 90,000 troops in Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia region are in general well armed. Other equipment such as clothes, food and supplies, is not satisfactory. Though we had established contact with Chang Hsueh-liang before the Sian affair, it was only during the two weeks following the actual incident that any large quantity of munitions, clothing and food reached us.'"

Manchoukuo Communists  
sold out 1941? p. 60

Not all information based  
on interviews

Personal Observations

90,000,000 votes cast.  
(China's percentage higher p. 17  
Eastern Poland's % " p. 75)

Not time for a change

Republican's withdraw

See Lenin, p. 70

"At first' Chu Teh said, 'the Manchurian volunteers were largely impoverished peasants. The Communist Party then began to organize new-peasant detachments who were later joined by what remained of the original volunteers. About three months ago a report to me stated that the total number of Manchurian volunteers ranged from 50,000 to 60,000.' In reply to a statement made by the Japanese to the effect that 70 percent of the Manchurian volunteers are Communists, Chu Teh said that this was not an exaggeration."

"On the United Front: Chou En-Lai, vice chairman of the Revolutionary Military Council, and second in importance to Mao Tse-tung said: 'The Communist Party representing the proletariat and peasantry was a revolutionary party with its own areas and military forces as well as its own political, social and economic system. The Kuomintang represented the ruling social groups throughout the rest of China.'"

"Up to Japan's recent invasion, united-front negotiations progressed quite slowly. Internal peace had been achieved and the two armies no longer fought each other. Confiscation of land in the Soviet regions was abolished. The name of the Red Army was changed. Technical difficulties made a complete united front often seem impossible. But Japan's military aggression scattered all major obstacles."

"Life in the Special Administrative District: Our visit, however, did not consist only of a series of interviews. We visited stores and shops, noticing with interest how much cleaner and more orderly they were than any we had seen on our trip, and how relatively well stocked they were. And the cheese cloth covering the food for sale stood in marked contrast to the cities in non-Soviet areas where the only coverings we had seen were armies of flies. Even the dogs, the most miserable of all living things in China were active and barking. But most interesting and important of all was our visit to the theater. Our visit to Yen-an was climaxed by a huge mass meeting, addressed by Chu Teh, Bisson, Lattimore and myself and attended by the 1500 students of the Peoples Anti-Japanese Military-Political University and about 500 from other schools."

NEW MASSES—Dec. 21, 1937, page 8

"The Soviet Elections (Editorial)."  
"Estimates of the total vote vary, but ninety million seems a fair guess. When 90 million voters enter polling booths under conditions of guarded secrecy, and record their opinion of the system of society under which they live, that would seem to be a pretty substantial example of democracy. . . ."

According to the conception of bourgeois democracy it should be possible to an industrial worker, a collective farmer, or a professor in a Soviet University to declare himself a candidate for the Supreme Soviet on a platform of a return to capitalism. According to the realities of everyday life in the Soviet Union this would not be democracy, but whirling idiocy. Socialism exists in the Soviet Union. Its victories are secure and visible on every hand. The elections were held for the purpose of selecting the best people of the land to carry forward these victories.

It is not surprising that in the nominations of candidates there should have been few contests that were not settled by the withdrawal of candidates who realized they were second or third in public esteem. Now the 90 million Soviet voters have spoken and endorsed the Soviet system."

Introductory remarks in the first issue of the Communist publication, THE COMMUNIST, published in Yen-an on October 4, 1938, Mao Tse-tung declared:  
'Armed struggle is the salient form of China's revolution. The history of our Party is a history of armed struggle. Therefore, our revolution must take the form of armed struggle.'

Reviews of Edgar Snow's  
book

Chinese Soviet Nation, see  
Mao Tse-tung, p. 39

See Vincent Sheehan p. 1-2

Source of Snow's material

Communism following  
victory (see p. 39, A)

Socialism invincible

Same criticism of Snow  
in "Pacific Affairs," June 1938

Generalissimo's pledge

Communists Satisfied

Communist Daily

NEW MASSES—January 11, 1938, page 12

"Forsythe's Page."

"I want to urge you with all my force to read the new book by  
Edgar Snow, 'Red Star over China.'"

This is the nation (I use the word advisedly because Red China is a  
nation complete in every detail and will soon be the entire Chinese  
nation) which began with a few determined men in 1927, with no  
arms, no friends in official China and no help from the outside  
world because the outside world had no chance of reaching the  
embattled Communist forces.

These then are the Reds of China. You must learn to know the  
names of the great leaders who will soon be leading China out of  
the wilderness."

NEW MASSES—January 25, 1938, page 21

"Review of 'Red Star over China.'"

"The value of this material can be judged by the fact that most of it  
was supplied by Mao Tse-tung, the head of the Soviet regime, and  
some of it was checked by personal observations of the author right  
on the spot.

"The victory of the Chinese liberation movement (Mao Tse-tung told  
Mr. Snow) will be part of the victory of world communism. If China  
wins its independence, the world revolution will progress very  
rapidly. If our country is subjugated by the enemy we shall lose  
everything. For a people deprived of its national freedom, the  
revolutionary task is not immediate socialism but the struggle for  
independence. We cannot even discuss communism if we are robbed  
of a country in which to practice it."

"Mr. Snow concludes his final chapter on 'Red Horizons' with the  
prediction that neither the democratic socialist ideas for which tens  
of thousands of youths have already died in China, nor the energies  
behind them can be destroyed."

"It is amazing to find the same writer who checked and rechecked  
his evidence about the Chinese Soviets, who consulted with Mao  
Tse-tung to discover the facts which had been obscured or falsified  
by so many previous writers, picking up a vicious rumor and  
echoing it without taking the trouble to examine its truth. Mr. Snow's  
cavalier treatment of the Communist International is in direct con-  
tradiction to the testimony of the Chinese Communists. His distortion  
in this respect is a grievous error, marring a work which is on the  
whole so informative, accurate and penetrating."

Victor A. Yakhontoff

NEW MASSES—February 1, 1938, page 12

"Reorganization in China."

"Independent information from China indicates that Hirota was not  
wrong when he expressed the opinion that the Chinese opposition  
had to be broken because it could not be bought. It is interesting to  
recapitulate the signs of this attitude among Chinese Government  
leaders. On Dec. 16 General Chiang Kai-shek in a radio broadcast  
to the nation pledged that he would never surrender. Immediately  
thereafter, discussions got under way in Hankow, in which the  
Communists participated, to formulate more effective methods of  
resistance. The Central Political Council of the Government, headed  
by the very doubtful Wang Ching Wei was abolished. Chu Teh, the  
most famous of the Communist Commanders, has been appointed  
field commander-in-chief of the Yellow River Valley forces. On  
Dec. 26, Wang Ming, a leading Communist now in Hankow, told  
the United Press that while his party still desired to improve the  
composition of the government, it was satisfied with the Government's  
resolute efforts to reorganize for eventual victory."

NEW MASSES—January 18, 1938, page 13

"Of similar import is the publication of China's first Communist daily  
newspaper in Hankow. It is called the New China Daily (Sin Hua  
Jih Pao) and the first issue appeared on January 10."

Mao Tse-tung interview

Liquidating Feudalism

Japanese charges

Chinese Army miracles

Peoples Political Council

Anna Louise Strong

8th Route defeating Japan

With Victory "comes the Revolution"

Chinese Trotskyites

8th Route does all the fighting

NEW MASSES—February 1938, page 5

"The strategy of the 8th Route Army"

"An interview with Mao Tse-tung by James Bertram"

"Mao Tse-tung: on the question of strategy and tactics we may say in general that the 8th Route Army undertakes actions that cannot be carried out by any other Chinese troops. We fight on the flanks and in the rear of the enemy. Such a style of fighting is altogether different from that of simple frontal defense. We do not question the need for the use of one part of a defending force in such direct frontal fighting; of course, this is necessary. But our main forces are used on the enemy's wings, carrying out flanking and encircling movements, attacking the enemy independently and on our own initiative.

There are 3 fundamental principles underlying the political work of the 8th Route Army.

First, unity of officers and men. This implies the liquidation of any remaining traces of feudalism and realization of a manner of life whereby all share together both bitter and sweet.

Second, unity of the army and the people. The 8th Army gets new recruits, not by compulsory draft, but by agitation among and political organization of the people.

Third, propaganda among the enemy armies, and special treatment of prisoners of war. The Japanese claim we want to 'bolshelize' North China, to unite with Outer Mongolia and the Soviet Union, even to 'bolshelize' Japan itself. Though Hopei, Chahar, Suiyuan and part of Shansi have already been lost we do not despair. We resolutely rally our Army for the defense of Shansi and the regaining of the lost territories. The 8th Route Army will act unitedly with the other Chinese armies and resolutely maintain the resistance in Shansi. October 25, 1937."

NEW MASSES—April 12, 1938, page 12

"Miracles in China" (Editorial)

"The secret of the 'miracles' that the poorly equipped Chinese soldiers have been performing must be sought not only in their flexible military tactics, but primarily in political developments in China. The election of Chiang Kai-shek as supreme leader of the Kuomintang marks a victory for that section of the party bent on an uncompromising struggle against Japanese aggressors. The decision of the party congress to extend civil liberties and create a People's Political Council in which the broadest section of the population will be represented, etc., etc. Both these decisions are in accord with proposals made by the Chinese Communist Party and the closer relations that have been established between the Communists and the Kuomintang augur well for the future."

NEW MASSES—April 19, 1938, page 7

"The Army that's Defeating Japan by Anna Louise Strong"

"Chu Teh, of Red Army fame, now commander of the 8th Route Army told me that he takes his orders from 'the government of Chiang Kai-shek and directly from Marshal Yen Hsi-shan. We pride ourselves on being the most obedient and disciplined of the Government's armies.'"

"Those who through ignorance or malice talk about 'soft pedaling of the class struggle' by the Communists show their lack of understanding of realities of history. For it is pretty obvious that for China to drive out Japanese imperialism would do more for revolutionary progress in China, Japan and the rest of the Pacific than any other conceivable thing. The only Chinese who oppose this view today are the handful of Trotskyites, who proclaim that the most necessary thing is to use the war to foment class struggle in Chinese villages and that Chiang Kai-shek is the chief enemy, after whose overthrow alone can begin the decade-long, underground fight against Japan.

The 8th Route Army is the only Chinese Army which has been in continuous action for the past 4 months. During my 6 days stay in their headquarters more than a dozen reports of engagements were radioed in. They were chiefly minor engagements, involving only a few men."

NEW MASSES—May 3, 1938, page 19

"The Moscow Trials. A statement by American Progressives."

A statement ending—"We call upon them (American liberals) to support the efforts of the Soviet Union to free itself from insidious internal dangers and to rally support for the international fight against fascism—the principle menace to peace and democracy."

Among signers were Frederick V. Field  
Maxwell S. Stewart  
Anna Louise Strong  
Victor A. Yakhontoff

NEW MASSES—June 14, 1938, page 24

"Review of 'Japan in China' by T. A. Bisson, The Macmillan Co. \$3.00."

"The study just issued by T. A. Bisson of the Foreign Policy Association is one of the few that will be valued decades hence as a source book of information about this turning point in world history—the Sino Japanese War. 'Japan in China' is the most scholarly digest yet produced of the available documentary and journalistic material. If Mr. Bisson takes sides in the end—and what author can refrain?—he does so without passion and on the basis of slowly accumulated evidence.

He talked with Mao Tse-tung and other Communist leaders late last summer. He is able to quote their keen, sound observations on the present military and political events."

"For anyone who wishes to understand the complexities of Far Eastern politics this book is indispensable."

"Anna Louise Strong"

NEW MASSES—July 12, 1938, page 3

"China's Year of War" by Victor A. Yakhontoff

"The Japanese utterly miscalculated the ability of the Chinese to reform their ranks and to offer stiff resistance so soon after the fall of Shanghai and Nanking. Great numbers of fresh provincial troops poured in; these proved to be better than many of the so-called experts had expected. And their leaders demonstrated great ability in the strategy and tactics of warfare. The Chinese command carried on a war of maneuver by highly mobile units of the Nanking government army and of the provincial troops.

THE COMMUNIST—November 1938

"The Communist Party in China's War for Liberation" by Rudy Baker, page 1009.

"Now the former bitter enemies (Chinese Communists and Nanking Government) loyally fight side by side against Japan and there is much talk of continuing the newly re-established collaboration even after the war is won. In view of the subsequent development of the Soviet phase of the revolution, it must be stated that the Communists entered the revolutionary alliance with the Kuomintang (in 1924) in good faith and with a clear understanding that

"As the revolutionary movement spread, deepened and gathered force, and as the revolutionary goal came in sight (1927) this bourgeoisie of China, which with important sections of the landlords, dominated the Kuomintang and the Army, deserted the revolution and formed an alliance with the feudal warlords and foreign imperialist powers against the revolution. . . . It was in this period and under these new circumstances that the Communist Party of China was compelled to organize the Red Army and set up Soviets in China.

"The Red Army has been incorporated into the National Army and is subject to central military command. Its original political and military commanders remain. The former Soviet territory has been transformed into the Special Administrative District of the Chinese Peoples Republic. In the recent elections practically all the functionaries who were elected under the old Soviet elections, were re-elected. Soviet currency was replaced with National currency.

Anna Louise Strong  
reviews T.A. Bisson

Keen Observers

Chinese strategy

Agreement with Sun Yat-sen  
entered in good faith  
(vouched for)

But circumstances  
changed.

All Communists elected  
(betting odds were close)

Norman Thomas - anti-imperialist

NEW MASSES—Dec. 13, 1938, page 13  
"Norman Thomas: Defeatist—an analysis of his policy of headlong retreat." by Wm. Z. Foster.  
"Thomas attempts to put a prop under his shaky 'Socialism on the defensive (defeated)' theory by condemning the movement of the Soviet Union and other democratic peoples for concerted action to assist invaded nations and restrain the fascist warmakers. This movement, according to Thomas, amounts only to a struggle between rival imperialisms."

Kuomintang mass support

"THE COMMUNIST"—December 1938  
"The Fall of Wuhan and Prospects of China's Victory" by Rudy Baker, page 1114  
"Today the Kuomintang is a broader party embracing vastly broader circles of the population and the masses. The overwhelming majority of the people, including the middle classes, support the Chiang Kai Shek government because of its uncompromising anti-Japanese policy."

To Hell with Stalin

THE COMMUNIST—March 1939  
page 211. Statement by Earl Browder before McNaboe Committee of N. Y. State, June 29, 1938.  
"The Communist Party makes its own decisions, it has never received orders from Moscow or anywhere else and if it did receive any such orders it would throw them in the waste basket."

Patriotic French →

"The Communist" March 1939  
page 280—Manifesto issued by Communist Party of France, Jan. 25, 1939—"Yes, Spain can be saved: Yes, France can be saved. By the union of all Frenchmen who wish to live free and independent; by the union of all the great democratic countries whose power of attraction is such that the small threatened states are ready to come to their side. The Union of France, England, the U. S. and the Soviet Union is alone capable of forcing a retreat of the war makers of the Rome, Berlin, Tokio Axis. This union is desired by the Soviet Union, the rampart of peace and democracy in the world, bound to France by a pact in which millions of Frenchmen see the guaranty of our security against Nazism, which seeks first of all to isolate France in order to annihilate her afterwards. Frenchmen, Courage and Confidence."

THE NEW YORK TIMES,  
NOVEMBER 25, 1938.

**SOVIET AID TO CHINA IS REPORTED ENDED**

Alfred Kohlberg, Importer, Says That Russia, Japan and Germany Are in Pact

An agreement giving a free hand to Japan in China has been reached by Russia, Japan and Germany, according to information given by sources within the Chinese Government to Alfred Kohlberg, president of the Art Embroidery Linen Importers Association. He returned yesterday from a seven weeks' tour of Chinese territory on both sides of the battle lines there.

Mr. Kohlberg's understanding was that during the Summer, Russia, Japan and Germany had arrived at an agreement by which Russia either joined the German-Japanese alliance, or, if she did not go so far, made peace with Japan and Germany. The arrangement, he understands, calls for cooperation with Russia by Japan and Germany rather than antagonism, and provides for withdrawal of Russian support of Chinese forces.

Was Earl's face RED →

NEW MASSES—March 28, 1939, page 8  
"Earl Browder Answers Questions"  
"5000 New Yorkers turned out to the Hippodrome meeting called by New Masses, to hear Earl Browder lecture on 'Soviet Economy Today.'"  
"Q. What do the capitalists think they will gain by making it appear that Stalin and Hitler will get together.  
A. They think that to the extent that they can get that idea into your heads, you will allow them to manipulate the foreign policy of the U. S. just as Hoover wants—to line up the U. S. with Hitler against the Soviet Union (N. M. Apr. 4, 1939, page 12)."

Third Term →

NEW MASSES—July 11, 1939, page 21  
"Third Term for the New Deal" (an editorial)  
"Progress versus reaction is still the issue. It may be Roosevelt, it may be one of a dozen others, but it must be a New Deal candidate."  
"We believe the majority still want what the President stands for. If this requires that he run for a third term, it would be folly to make a fetish of precedent and deny the American people their democratic right to elect the kind of government they desire."



Soviet Policy Unchanging

Baltic Pacts

Treaties Forever!

All pledges observed

Philip J. Jaffe

10,000,000 in training

Democracy works

U.S.S.R. only friend of  
China

1,300,000 Jap troops

“For those who are uncertain regarding Soviet foreign policy—and there are still many such—there can be no better text than this collection of the speeches of Maxim Litvinov between April 4, 1934 and Sept. 21, 1938. It is an amazing demonstration of the consistency of that policy. Each speech, each paragraph and each sentence reads as if it were written today. Take for example the following sentences from the speech delivered on April 4, 1934, on the signing of the protocols for the prolongation of the pacts of non-aggression between the USSR and the Baltic States:

“The threats of war in Europe today are caused by disputes between neighboring states arising out of the transfer of territory from one state to another. The Soviet State is stranger to such disputes: it has never demanded the revision of existing treaties and never intends to demand it.”

Even more striking is a section from Litvinov’s speech before the 8th Congress of the Soviets Nov. 18, 1936—

“The Soviet Union does not beg to be invited to any unions, any blocs, any combinations. Our security does not depend upon paper documents or upon foreign policy combinations.”

It is interesting also to trace through the book Litvinov’s various pronouncements on the Spanish, Chinese and Czech crises and note how clearly he called the turn of events long before they occurred. The final speech in the series, Litvinov’s address before the Assembly of the League of Nations, Sept. 21, 1938—a few days before Munich—he reviewed with unmistakable clarity each of the occasions on which the Soviet Union had made an unmistakable pledge of assistance to Czechoslovakia and reiterated its pledge for the world to hear. But the world had already embarked on the blind journey to Munich and it paid no heed.

Maxwell S. Stewart.”

NEW MASSES—July 11, 1939, page 5

“Two Years of War. Philip J. Jaffe, authority on the Far East gives the facts.”

“... a censorship prevents even Japanese in important positions from knowing the truth about China. But for the million and a half Japanese troops abroad the picture is different.

Only recently has it become public that an army of ten million is in training in the West of China. One third of them are to be used as mobile or guerrilla units, one third positional troops, one third reserves.

The People’s Political Council—the wartime representative body of the Chinese people, inaugurated last July at Hankow — works smoothly. China is on the threshold of genuine democracy. The People’s Political Council includes members from many provinces of every class, profession, trade, representatives of every political party, including the Kuomintang, the Communist Party, the State Socialist Party, and the Chinese Youth Party.

Only the USSR is loyal to China. She sells China munitions and other commodities on liberal credit terms: she has recently concluded a trade pact with China. The U.S.S.R. does not sell a single dime’s worth of anything or buy a single Japanese export. In the fisheries dispute when the Soviet Union stood firm against unwarranted Japanese demands the USSR has shown the Western Powers that the way to resist is to resist. Japan knows that one neighbor and friend of China cannot be bullied into compromise.

Estimated number involved in the War in China as of Jan. 1, 1939.

Jap troops landed in China to date	1,300,000
Jap troops landed in Manchuria to date	300,000
Jap casualties	600,000
Japs killed	250,000
Chinese Government troops in the field	3,500,000
Chinese guerrillas (mobile fighters)	hundreds of thousands
Chinese troop casualties	1,500,000
Chinese troops killed	600,000”

U.S.A and U.S.S.R. clean records

Harding pushed Japs out of Vladivostok

China interests

NEW MASSES—July 11, 1939, page 9  
 "U.S.A. and U.S.S.R.: Good Neighbors"  
 "Earl Browder tells of the ties between the two nations with clean records in current diplomacy. Let the Red-baiters yell—American National interest calls for collaboration with the Soviets."  
 "In the Far East, those parallel interests (of the USA and USSR) are so obvious and fundamental that even the Harding Republican administration, in 1920, was forced by the inexorable logic of even the narrowest conception of American national interests to put pressure upon Japan, in the Washington conference, to evacuate the Soviet Far Eastern Maritime Provinces after the Red Army had cleared them out of the Baikal region.  
 How much more then are the common interests of emphatic importance since Japanese militarism has run amok in China, has embarked upon such an ambitious adventure of conquest that it openly proclaims its intention of transforming all Eastern Asia into its closed preserve and reducing its hundreds of millions of populations to instruments of an all-conquering military empire: while through its association in the Berlin-Rome-Tokyo triangle, it has become an active force in Latin American life against the U.S.  
 The fundamental interests of China, the Soviet Union and the U.S. are in profound harmony; the co-operative protection and advancement of these common interests furnish the only possible foundation for the stable organization of peace in the Pacific."  
 Earl Browder

Aug. 23, 1939—Public Announcement of Soviet-German Non-Aggression Pact signed by Molotov and Von Ribbentrop

WHITE BECOMES BLACK

THE COMMUNIST—October, 1939, age 899  
 "Keep America Out of the Imperialist War"  
 (Declaration of National Committee, Communist Party of U. S. A. Sept. 19, 1939)

IMPERIALIST WAR II

"The war that has broken out in Europe is the Second Imperialist War. It is not a war against fascism, not a war to protect small nations from aggression.  
 The outbreak of the Second Imperialist War fundamentally changes the situation hitherto existing. The previous alignments into democratic and fascist camps loses its former meaning.  
 Communists in all the belligerent countries are exposing the imperialist character of the war, they will vote against war credits, they go among the soldiers at the fronts and the masses at home explaining that this war will bring the people nothing but misery, burdens, destruction and death.  
 The United States must keep out of any involvement in this imperialist war, or in the rivalries and antagonisms from which it arose. Allow no single measure to be taken for purposes of giving American help to either side of the imperialist conflict. In an entirely different category must be considered the question of aid to China. The great Chinese people are fighting a just war in which American national interests demand all possible aid to be given.  
 Keep America out of the Imperialist War! For America's National and Social Security!"

Patriotic Communists

China still O.K.

NEW MASSES—Sept. 26, 1939, page 3  
 "Why the Red Army Marched"  
 "Nicholas Romanov, imperial czar of all the Russias, has been gone these 22 years. Few men mourned for Nicholas. Who will mourn today for a handful of Polish landowners who abdicated every pretense to the leadership of their people?"  
 "The Soviet action" (invasion of Poland) "is the greatest piece of open diplomacy since the October Revolution itself. At one blow, the Soviet Union solves the accumulated frontier conflicts arising from a thousand years of feudal idiocy.  
 For us, the Soviet action . . . proves 100% that there is no military alliance between socialist Russia and fascist Germany."

Poles join Romanov

Everything solved

Philip J. Jaffe  
Imperialist Europe  
New China

No longer feudal,  
reactionary

Inflation doesn't matter

Stop Japan's arms

Walter Lippmann,  
reactionary appeaser

No Russo-Jap pact  
(see p. 60)

Victory of Changsha  
(Gen. Hsueh Yueh, commander)

NEW MASSES—Oct. 24, 1939, page 3.

"A Turning Point in History"

"The smashing of the Rome-Berlin-Tokyo axis brings an upsurge to China. The role of America in Japan's War. Chaos in imperialist Europe: New civilization in China." by Philip J. Jaffe.

"Even in North China, Japan has been unable to occupy the strategic province of Shansi, which would become, through Sian, the gateway to the entire Northwest. Every campaign in that province has been defeated by a combination of 8th Route Army and other Chinese troops.

China today is a different nation not only from what she was 25 years ago but from what she was two years ago. In 1914 China was a weak and dying feudal state ruled by selfish reactionaries and exploited by the vested interests of foreign powers. Today China is a united nation prepared, virtually to a man, to fight to the end for her freedom and integrity.

For a country which only yesterday contained so many selfish and autocratic militarists, the number of important traitors has been extremely small. Chiang Kai-shek's prestige has never been greater than it is today.

Fortunately, China is not dependent upon export trade and therefore upon foreign exchange. It matters little to her what happens to the Chinese National Dollar in the world market.

Though able to manufacture sufficient quantities of hand grenades, simple rifles and even light machine guns, China cannot produce artillery, tanks or airplanes. For these she is dependent on outside aid. Even without such aid she can resist until Japan is worn out. With such aid she would be able to undertake the third and offensive stage of her military strategy.

It is clear that we now possess the power to cripple Japan's war machine and that Japan is too isolated and weak even to contemplate an attack upon the U. S. in retaliation.

At the present writing, Europe seems on the verge of a life and death struggle between imperialist powers, from which every American instinctively recoils. This desire must not be allowed to confuse the Far Eastern issue, for while Europe presents a picture of imminent chaos, the Far East opens a vista for a better and more progressive civilization. The U. S. today has the opportunity to lend her weight and prestige to the support of the nation that is fighting to make that civilization a reality."

NEW MASSES—Oct. 31, 1939, page 6

"America and the Far East" (Editorial)

"Farsighted reactionary spokesmen in this country such as Walter Lippmann immediately took the cue to suggest that American-Japanese collaboration be undertaken in earnest.

In essence the proposal is that the U. S. now play the Chamberlain role in the Far East: which means scuttling the measly American support to China, if necessary at the expense of China's freedom.

This development flagrantly ignores the sympathies of the American people, as distinguished from the American imperialists, for the people of China."

NEW MASSES—Sept. 26, 1939, page 22

"Japan Backs Down" (editorial)

"In the midst of the war in Europe the Soviet Union and Japan agreed to an armistice in their 'vest pocket war' on the Manchukuo-Outer Mongolia border. From Tokyo have come denials of press reports that a non-aggression pact is contemplated."

NEW MASSES—Oct. 17, 1939, page 22

"Tough Days for Japan" (Editorial)

"Around Changsha, in China, the first Japanese land operation since Oct. 25, 1938, was flung back with heavy losses and the mighty hosts of the God Emperor were shoved about in the mud by the Chinese people's army."

Isolation  
see Sen. Capper p. 70

Not clear on Baltic pacts

Soviet peace policy

Jap overtures

Wilson's Crime

Impossible to fight Russia

American Imperialism in  
the Pacific

NEW MASSES—Oct. 17, 1939, page 22  
"Tear off the Mask" (Editorial)  
"A nation of 130,000,000 is confronted with involvement in a reactionary, imperialist war."  
"John L. Lewis, speaking before the CIO convention in San Francisco, hit the nail squarely when he said: 'We can continue to escape the misfortunes that have overtaken much of the rest of the world only if we set our own house in order and build up a bulwark of domestic resistance against all the forces in this country which lead to fascism and war.'"

NEW MASSES—Nov. 14, 1939, page 11  
"The Soviets Speak for Peace" (an editorial article)  
"Vyacheslav Molotov's address to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR last week was much more than a summary of recent Soviet policy. It was an unusually clear projection of that policy for the whole period that lies ahead.  
Of primary importance is his characterization of the war: 'the fear of Germany's claims to colonial possessions . . . is at the bottom of the present war . . . the fear of losing world supremacy dictates to the ruling circles of Great Britain and France the policy of fomenting war with Germany.' Says the premier of the first Socialist State, 'the war promises nothing to the working class but bloody sacrifice and hardships.' On this consideration alone the Soviet Union restates its fundamental desire for peace and its interest in the cessation of hostilities.  
Most revealing for an understanding of the near future are the references to Japan. Here, Molotov stated frankly that the Soviet Union 'looks with favor upon Japanese overtures for a settlement of outstanding questions in the Far East.'"

NEW MASSES—Dec. 19, 1939, page 5  
"Roosevelt's Part (an Editorial)"  
"A new threat to the peace of the U. S. has developed within the past two weeks.  
Unless this synthetic emotion is curbed, the U. S. will be stampeded into the most criminal of all conceivable wars—war against socialist Russia. In 1918 the administration of Woodrow Wilson intervened in the internal affairs of that country . . . Is the administration of Franklin D. Roosevelt going to repeat that crime on an even vaster scale?  
But consider the Homeric laughter of the Chinese when they read Pres. Roosevelt's denunciation of Soviet 'aggression' and his 'moral embargo' against the USSR and reflect that more than half the materials that the Japanese are using to shoot and bomb Chinese men, women and children come from the U. S.  
War against the workers republic—this is where the Roosevelt policy is leading. In our undeclared war against socialist Russia more than 20 years ago, American working men struck against transporting war material and American troops in Siberia mutinied. We have no doubt that a new anti-Soviet war would meet with even less sympathy."

THE COMMUNIST—January 1940, page 22  
"Roosevelt, the War and the New Deal" by Gene Dennis  
"In the pronouncements of these U. S. Officials (Joseph Grew and Sumner Welles) American imperialism has disclosed its immediate objective in the Pacific, i.e. to impede friendly and peaceable relations between the U.S.S.R. and Japan, to weaken China's collaboration with the Soviet Union and to insure that the U. S. has a decisive share in the 'new order' which Japanese militarism and the Munichmen are endeavoring to set up in China."

## "Chinese Red Army Data"

"A Divisional Commander reports on the achievements of the 8th Route Army and the 4th Route Army for the past two years."

"In order to show the special roles played by the 8th Route Army and the new 4th Army and the tremendous losses suffered by the Japanese in the occupied territories, the achievements of these two armies during the first two years of the war are tabulated in the following table.

"The statistics of the 8th Route Army cover the period from September, 1937 to May 30, 1939.

Commander Hsiao Hsiang-Yang

## "Casualties of the enemy forces

Battles	4,200
Japanese killed and wounded	72,000
Puppet army troops killed and wounded	15,000
Japanese captured	1,100
Puppet army troops captured	9,600
Puppet army troops who came over to the Chinese	19,000

"Of the total casualties suffered by the Japanese in the last two years—800,000 killed and wounded—more than 87,400 casualties have been caused by the activities of the 8th Route Army and New 4th Army. These two armies are a relatively small proportion of the whole Chinese Army; yet they are able to deal such effective blows that one-ninth of the Japanese casualties were due to their activities.

"Of the 2,026 pieces of artillery captured by the Chinese Army, the 8th Route and New 4th Armies captured

117 (5.7%)	
Of the 3,770 machine guns captured	577 (15.3%)
Of the 68,374 rifles captured	23,273 (34.3%)
Of the 9,116 automobiles captured	2,616 (28.7%)

"The 8th Route Army receives financial support from the Central Government which is only sufficient to support 45,000 men. But the casualties alone of the 8th Route Army in the first two years reached the figure of 56,000.

"One more important point. According to the latest statistics compiled by Chu Teh, Commander-in-chief of the 8th Route Army, the total number of Japanese divisions engaged in the war is 42. Of these, 19 divisions are stationed in North China, of which 14 divisions are either engaged in fighting the 8th Route Army or cannot be shifted to other fronts on account of that army's activities. This means that the 8th Route Army has succeeded in engaging one-third of the Japanese forces in China.

H. H. Y.

NEW MASSES, Feb. 6, 1940, page 8

## "Not So Quiet on the Far Eastern Front"

"Nothing reveals the imperialist nature of American foreign policy more plainly than a comparison of the administration's attitude toward Finland and toward China. With unerring instinct the President recognizes the difference between the Finnish White Guard forces and the troops of China's National United Front. The former fight the Soviet Union, the latter imperialist Japan; the former serve the banker, Ryti and the Czarist General Mannerheim, the latter the Chinese people.

"What shall we say, then, of the frequent newspaper reports of breaks in the Chinese united front?

"Briefly most of these accounts have their origin in Japanese propaganda. True, there is only one Communist official in the Central Government, but many reactionary officials have lost their posts or have been transferred. If Chiang Kai-shek has been inexcusably lax in using his undeniable power to stop the attacks on Communists, he has at least held the reactionaries in check. If China has developed very slowly along the road to democracy, she nevertheless has made significant advances from what she was only a few years ago.

"The Communists—firmness in waging the struggle, their self-sacrificing spirit, their adherence to pledges have been attested to by such leading non-Communist commentators as John Gunther, F. Tillman Durdin, Major Evans F. Carlson, Haldore Hanson, and Edgar Snow. They have stated bluntly that Socialism is their ultimate goal, not their immediate objective. Their words and actions show that if the United Front is broken, it will not be the Communists' fault.

John Sterne

1/11th Jap casualties inflicted  
by 8th Route Army

Japanese casualties

1/3 Jap forces engaged  
by 8th Route Army

Roosevelt Aids Fascists

Jap propaganda  
Trouble brewing

Observers at Communist  
fronts

Russia's Defensive War

NEW MASSES—Feb. 1940, page 21

"Robeson Speaks Out"

"Said Robeson:

I feel England's influence is pronounced in Scandanavian countries and this influence is reactionary, not democratic. It possibly may have inspired the Finnish hostilities, which simply means that Russia is fighting a defensive war."

He refused to appear in benefits for Finland.

The Yanks are not coming

NEW MASSES—March 12, 1940, page 16

"Hello, Sucker. When Lord Duff Cooper, his Majesty's ace war propagandist, spoke at the San Francisco Opera house recently, he was met with a picket line which handed out 700 lollypops (wrappers reading "Don't be a sucker for War Propaganda"). Only three were thrown aside. Many laughed and caught the idea that perhaps his lordship was overdoing his efforts on behalf of the British lion. The lollypops were the gift of "The Yanks Are Not Coming Committee," District Council No. 2, Maritime Federation of the Pacific."

"Ain't PEACE wonderful, Father"

NEW MASSES—April 9, 1940, page 3

"Who's Afraid of Peace?"

"A. B. Magil discusses the 'dangers' of peace. Ending the war now would mean defeat for both warring imperialist groups. Peace is the best guarantee that America will stay out."

NEW MASSES—April 9, 1940, page 7

"F. D. R.'s Road to War. James Starobin outlines our foreign policy since September and its big business basis. America: munitions dump for the world."

NEW MASSES—May 7, 1940, page 4

"Reason for Optimism."

"I, for one, do not feel downcast about the future of mankind, Corliss Lamont writes. 'We want peace and we want it now.' His outlook in this season of tragedy.

N.Y. Times Forgery

NEW MASSES—May 7, 1940, page 22

"A Forgery Fit to Print." (Editorial)

"On April 22, that pious jade, the New York Times did a job which must have been the envy of Hearst. It published an alleged Soviet map of China showing large sections of Chinese territory included within the USSR. An accompanying story by Hollett Abend told a tale of how these maps are being posted on highways leading from Siberia into China by Soviet truck drivers transporting military supplies.

Expert on Forgeries

"The very next day the Times published a letter from Frederick V. Field, Secretary of the American Council, Institute of Pacific Relations, branding the map a "Clumsy forgery" and analyzing in detail the glaring discrepancies in both the map and Abend story. One can guess the inspiration of this forgery coming as it does from Japanese-controlled Shanghai and from such a source as Hallett Abend, one of the Tokyo Foreign Office's favorite correspondents.

Socialism in Bessarabia

NEW MASSES—July 16, 1940, page 22

"Liberation East of the Prut" (Editorial)

"In Bessarabia and Bukovina the processes of socialist reconstruction are reviving one of Europe's most depressed areas. Village soviets are being formed, the land is being divided, the peasants debts to the moneylenders have been cancelled. In the Baltic States also the simple fundamental democratic measures (not yet full socialist measures) are being taken: the legalization of the Communist Parties, long persecuted; the revision of the electoral laws. The working people are coming into their own—both an epilogue to the October Revolution itself and a forerunner of that which must come in all Europe before a permanent peace, a socialist peace is possible.

Democracy in Baltics

"American Policy in the Far East and the Roosevelt Regime" by B. T. Loo

I.P.R. Chairman  
characterizes Open Door  
Policy

U.S. Imperialism

Socialist U.S.S.R. & Germany

Anti-militarist, democratic  
Japan  
scares Roosevelt

New Dealers spur attacks  
see Browders charges  
p. 22

"The 'Open Door' policy in relation to China's independence has been characterized most clearly by V. Motylev, Chairman of the U.S.S.R. Council of the Institute of Pacific Relations: (in Amerasia, March 1940, Section 1, page 21) 'The U. S. has supported the independence and integrity of China only because in this way it hoped to turn a politically independent China into a China which would be economically dependent upon the U. S. (and in this way make China completely dependent on the U. S. politically).' At the height of this national liberation struggle in 1927, American imperialism jointly with Chinese imperialism intervened. The counter revolution was able to assume power in China carrying on the most devastating Civil War for 10 years. Literally millions of workers, farmers, women and youth were annihilated."

"The 'vision' of a socialist U.S.S.R. and Germany plus an anti-imperialist, if not yet socialist, China and Japan is the nightmare of the imperialists, not in Washington alone."

"Summed up, Krock's dispatch is indicative of these facts: that the Roosevelt Government . . . (3) is averse to China's acceptance of Soviet aid; (4) fears a strong, independent and progressive China . . . ; (5) fears an anti-militarist, democratic Japan which would neither attack the Soviet Union, nor police China in the interests of imperialism."

"It was in this same period (when the European War was scarcely a month old) that anti-Communist activities were rampant in China spurred on by red-baiting outbursts on the part of outstanding New Dealers in this country. Armed conflicts were even provoked between certain sections of the Chinese National Army and its best units, the 8th Route Army under Communist leadership. These were really critical days for China's fight for National freedom. The main danger was not from the open enemy Japan, nor from open traitors, such as the puppet Wang Ching-wei, it came from the pressure and inducement of ostensibly friendly powers and the capitulatory attempts of certain wavering, but influential elements within the National front."

We should heed Comrade Browder's warning. "We should see that the work in aid of China is continued and strengthened. We should develop the tradition of that great surgeon, that great man, that great Communist, Dr. Norman Bethune." (February meeting National Committee, Communist Party)."

NEW MASSES—June 25, 1940, page 11

"We Need Not be Pessimistic"—by Earl Browder

"This war is the death struggle of the capitalist system.

War devastated Europe can be rebuilt only if the yoke of capitalist profit making is removed from the neck of the European laboring people and their creative ability is released; and the only way this is possible is through a socialist reorganization of Europe.

Earl Browder  
guesses right

More Democracy

NEW MASSES—July 16, 1940, page 22

"Liberation East of the Prut" (continued)

The Soviet initiative has delivered a solar-plexus blow to the venomous Social Democrats, to the fainthearted liberals, all those who are so dependent on the policies of imperialism that they cannot stomach independence in Soviet policy.

. . . the USSR conducts the only policy independent of world imperialism, seeking always to construct and defend, while other nations enslave and destroy."

Philip J. Jaffe

No Jap gains after 1938.

8<sup>th</sup> Route 3 divisions  
Who sold out Europe?

Russia will aid oppressed  
Chinese people as already  
proven elsewhere.

U.S. might join Japan

Foreign Policy Assn.

Premier Molotov fears  
U.S.A. will seize  
Western Hemisphere

53.

NEW MASSES—July 1940, page 12

"China's Great 3 year fight. Philip Jaffe strikes a balance sheet of the Far Eastern War. How the situation in Europe affects the Orient. The Status of the United Front."

For Japan, the successes of the first eighteen months (of the Sino-Jap war) proved to be largely illusory. Her offensive powers weakened and proved insufficient to crush Chinese resistance. Subsequent Japanese efforts to penetrate farther into the interior of China have proved futile and the Chinese people have become progressively stronger and more united.

On some occasions they (reactionaries and conservatives) have even succeeded in provoking attacks by Central Army troops on 8th Army units, sometimes in collaboration with the Japanese. But the 5th session of the People's Political Council, held April 1st to 10th at Chungking, went a long way toward healing the breach. The solution proposed provided, among other things, for increase of 8th Route Army strength from three to six divisions, reorganization of other northern troops into guerrilla units and local Peace Preservation Corps, and for more local judicial autonomy in the Border Government area.

The traitors who have sold out so much of Europe to Hitler have also given Japan what appears to be a new lease on life.

To date American Far Eastern policy has been dilatory, explainable only by the supposition that the continuance of the Sino-Japanese struggle would ultimately so weaken both Japan and China that the U. S. could easily intervene and bring about a peace dictated by American interests.

Yet it still is not too late for America to act effectively in the Far East and it need not act alone. The Soviet Union, a steadfast supporter of victims of aggression and oppressed peoples, has given continued and substantial support to the Chinese nation. She is ready and prepared to co-operate with other nations in increasing such aid if she were assured that the capitalist nations were sincere in their avowed support of Chinese independence and would not at the critical moment transfer their support to Japan in an effort to crush the Soviet Union.

Alone the U. S. can have an important effect on the Far Eastern situation, but in collaboration, formal or otherwise, with the Soviet Union, the Far East can be converted overnight, so to speak, into an area of free development and economic well being and become the fulcrum around which peace in the entire world can be established. Philip J. Jaffe"

NEW MASSES—July 16, 1940, page 23

"Far Eastern Dilemma" (Editorial)

"It will not do to appease Japan, for therein lie the seeds of future wars. Nor is war itself necessary—policy is the answer to the problem. The U. S. must place a full embargo on all metals to Japan, including scrap iron, on all machine tools, gasoline and cotton. The U. S. must, as the Foreign Policy Association says in its latest bulletin, seek out a mutual assistance pact with the USSR."

NEW MASSES—Aug. 13, 1940, page 15

"Molotov's speech"

"From speech of Premier Molotov, March 29, before the Supreme Soviet." "Most ominous note for ourselves as Americans was the observation that 'imperialist appetites are growing not only in Japan, but in the U. S., where there are not a few people who like to conceal their imperialist designs behind the well advertised 'concern' for the entire western hemisphere which these gentlemen are prepared to turn into their property!'"



Communist Party Platform

Hands off China

Suppression of Democracy

C.P. of China manifesto

Communists never break pledges

23 counties

Free press in Russia

New York Times—June 2, 1940, page 27

“Opposition to the Roosevelt Administration program and to any American intervention in Latin America, China or the Dutch East Indies and support for the ‘peace policy of the Soviet Union’ was pledged yesterday by the Communist Party of the U. S. in a platform adopted at its national convention here in Royal Windsor Hall, 69 W. 66th St. This phase of the platform consisted of the following 3 planks:

1. Combat the imperialist policies and acts of the President, the State Department and Congress to spread the war and involve the U. S. in it. No aid to the imperialist war makers in London, Berlin, Paris, Tokyo and Rome. Oppose all war loans and credits to the imperialist warring powers. Stop the sale and shipment of munitions and armaments to the belligerents.
2. Not a cent, not a gun, not a man for war preparation and the imperialist war. Resist the militarization and armaments program of the administration and Congress.
3. Hands off Latin America, China and the Dutch East Indies. For the immediate and complete National Independence of Puerto Rico and the Philippines. Halt the anti-Soviet drive and incitements of the Government and Wall Street. Support the peace policy of the Soviet Union.”

NEW MASSES—June 4, 1940, page 3

“Fifth Column on the Potomac” by A. B. Magil.

“The mechanized legions of Hitler are 3,000 miles away, but the political panzerdivisionen of Roosevelt are already on the move. Plans for totalitarian war on German imperialism abroad dovetail with plans for totalitarian war on American democracy at home.

THE COMMUNIST—November 1940, page 1001

“Manifesto of the C.P. of China, July 7, 1940.”

“The English, American and French imperialists are still continuing their anti-Soviet and anti-Communist policy, coupled with their suicidal policy to yield to the pressure of Germany, Italy and Japan. The only country that stands aloof and does not permit itself to be involved in the whirlpool of the imperialist war is the great and mighty socialist state, the Soviet Union, genuine champion of the oppressed people and enslaved nations of the world.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of China declares and wishes it to be known to every fellow countryman and every comrade member of the Party that we Communists always carry out faithfully in practise what we have once pledged. All kinds of slanderous attacks branding the Communist Party of China as a pledge breaker are totally baseless and false. From beginning to end we support Chiang Kai Shek. All rumors circulated to the effect that the Communist Party is returning to its old activity of the civil war time by reviving its former policy of uprising and destruction are entirely absurd and groundless.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of China wishes to assure once more that all armed forces under our command are confining their activities in the fighting area within the rear of the enemy and within the 23 counties that are under the administration of the border government of Shensi-Kansu-Ningshia.”

NEW MASSES—September 24, 1940, page 19

Mr. Gedye Regrets (Editorial)

“The New York Times has closed its offices in Moscow. Ostensibly the reason is the severity of Soviet censorship. Yet Gedye, himself, published a long list of items about the difficulties and shortcomings of Soviet agricultural and industrial progress: they are all culled from the ample discussion which goes on in the Soviet press. Evidently nothing is being hidden from the Soviet people. What they object to is that foreign correspondents take advantage of the Soviet’s scrupulous self-criticism to distort the realities of Soviet life, to emphasize the negative things and conceal the overwhelmingly positive achievements.”

NEW MASSES—October 22, 1940, page 21  
"Our Obligation to China. The relations with the U.S.S.R. An Editorial article"

U.S. arms Japan

And the crowning hypocrisy is this: despite all the Rooseveltian concern for morality and civilization, his administration has permitted the export of \$760,000,000 worth of American goods to Japan in '37, '38 and '39 and the import of \$492,000,000 more from Japan. In this criminal trade the proportion of war material has risen from 53% in 1937, to 63% in 1938, and 71% in 1939.

U.S.A - USSR - China

We shall not begin to undo the terrible damage of the State Department's cynicism to China until we provide what her legitimate government has every right to expect under the 9-Power Treaty—large scale economic and technical assistance—equal at least to the Soviet Union's ungrudging help of the past 3 years.

Moscow - Cairo - Teheran  
Quebec - Dumbarton Oaks

Here are two peoples (USA and USSR) who hold between them the world balance of power in resources, industrial and agricultural production, in manpower and strategic location. Together with China—a great nation of 400 millions, unified and unconquered—cooperation between the USA and the USSR could completely reverse all international relations . . . give heart and inspiration to millions of oppressed people everywhere.

Compare with U.S. Communist statement p. 47

Cartoons and editorials are beginning to reflect the popular understanding of the strategic and moral power which lies in a pact of friendship among China, the U. S. and the U.S.S.R. What is Washington waiting for?"

Reactionaries, fascists  
Army clique

THE COMMUNIST—November 1940  
"China's Liberation Struggle and the Far Eastern Crisis." by James Welden

Compare p. 39

"Sept. 14, 1939, Mao Tse-Tung, leader of the Communist Party of China stated: 'The second imperialist World War is an unparalleled calamity to mankind. The peoples of the imperialist nations will awake and join hands with their oppressed brothers of the colonies and semi-colonies. Together they will oppose the imperialist war and sweep the world with revolutions far greater than those of the first World War.

Free speech, free press  
right of assembly

"At the heart of the process of national unification lies the united front established in 1937 between the Nationalist Party (Kuomintang) and the Communist Party. An entrenched political minority, with some following among Kuomintang Army officers has never reconciled itself to the United front as thus constituted. Reactionary elements have remained in Free China, danerous for their capitulationist, pro-fascist, tendencies and for their anti-United front orientation."

7,000 battles per year

"Mao Tse-tung has thus stated the common platform on which the fight for a new China is based: 'Finally, our sole guiding general principle in the War of armed resistance and national reconstruction is the Three People's Principles.'"

"The People's Political Council is an omen of the future, but still far from a responsible and democratically elected national legislature. Freedom of speech, publication, assembly and association are newly won rights in China, far more generally exercised than ever before, but not yet fully established."

NEW MASSES—November 26, 1940, page 23  
Readers Forum.

"To New Masses: You may be interested in this letter (dated Aug. 20) that I received from a Chinese friend who recently arrived in Yen-an, capital of the 8th Route Army region, deep in the Chinese Northwest. He writes: (letter follows with figures of casualties and arms captured year July 7, 1939 to July 7, 1940. More than 7000 battles fought in that year).

Communist Party goes  
100% American

NEW MASSES—December 3, 1940, page 20  
"COMMUNIST DECISION" (Editorial)

"The Communist Party has voted at a special convention to sever its organization affiliation with the Communist International. This has been made necessary by the passage of the Voorhis Act which provides that organizations having any connections with bodies outside the U. S. must register with the Government and turn over membership lists and other information."

NEW MASSES—November 19, 1940, page 11

"The New Conspiracy Against China. By Philip J. Jaffe."

Editorial Note: "Dangerous Policy. Mr. Philip Jaffe's article, condensed from the Nov., 1940 issue of Amerasia" (published below) "is a timely rebuttal to a dangerous point of view on Far Eastern problems. Many newspaper editorials, many who represent the Roosevelt and State Department attitudes, and even such friends of China as Adm. Harry Yarnell have attempted to equate China's valiant battle against Japan with the war in Europe. But the fact is, as Mr. Jaffe argues, that the two wars are absolutely different in origin, development and objectives. China fights for her nationhood, her independence from foreign domination, her hope of democratic life. The fight is directed in the first place against Japanese imperialism. China's victory would strike a blow against imperialism everywhere, and that is one of the best reasons why it should be supported. Nothing would hurt China's cause more than identification with the fortune of the British Empire—the Empire which has always been the greatest obstacle to China's integrity and the chief support of Japan. Help to China by way of an alliance with Britain not only prejudices China's independence but is itself the surest way of getting the American people into war. Those who argue for including China in its program of assistance to Britain are among the most outspoken warmongers. The alternative is a policy of help to China on the basis of recognizing her equality as a nation. To do that we must withdraw all economic assistance to Japan and begin to extend large scale assistance to China. Such a policy is impossible without a full rapprochement with the Soviet Union. Even more urgently than Mr. Jaffe, we see in such cooperation the fundamental guarantee of China's victory, as well as the assurance of continued peace for the American people."

Admiral Yarnell confused.

THE COMMUNIST—January 1941, page 35

"On some aspects of Foreign Policy" by Earl Browder

"In a speech at Boston, October 6, I said: 'It will be worse than useless for the U. S. to approach the Soviet Union in the hope of finding an ally in a war, the aims of which are to redistribute the colonies and subject peoples among the great powers. The Soviet Union will never participate in such a war.'

The U. S. has embarked on a gigantic drive to build the greatest empire the world has ever seen, with the instruments of an overwhelming military machine. For these aims American youth is conscripted, the masses are loaded with burdens of enormous armaments, social and labor legislation is being dismantled, civil liberties are curtailed and standards of living are driven down.

Washington, that is the present imperialist, war making regime, is a natural enemy of the Soviet Union and its policies of peace of neutrality toward the imperialist war. Washington, Roosevelt and the American bourgeoisie see in the Soviet Union the most powerful obstacle to the realization of their grandiose dreams of a far flung American empire.

All phases of a correct people's policy of peace—neutrality toward the imperialist war, friendship with the Soviet Union, *real help to China*, denial of aid to Japan, etc., etc.—will be achieved only by struggle against the imperialistic bourgeoisie and its policies and never by falling under any illusions of collaboration between the working class and this imperialist bourgeoisie.

Earl Browder

No Collaboration

Speech at Yenan, Feb. 1, 1940

Defeatists + anti-Communists  
in Kuomintang

Obstinate elements  
Abolition of Communist Party;  
8th Route Army, New 4th Army  
Border Govt.

2/5 of Japs held 8th + 4th  
\$100 month

Land of 7 withouts  
Democratic

Excellent New Year's  
Resolutions

NEW MASSES—Jan 28, 1941, page 8  
 "Who are China's Traitors" speech delivered at a mass meeting in Yenan, Feb. 1, 1940

"Objective conditions"  
 "First of all there now exists in China the Communist Party, the 8th Route and New Fourth Armies. No matter who wants to surrender or rebel against our government, we shall not compromise but will fight such people to the bitter end."  
 "Second, the majority of the Kuomintang members oppose surrender to Japan. Aside from the defeatists, the anti-Communists and the obstinate elements within the Kuomintang, most of the members of the party are loyal and trustworthy.  
 Third, all the people throughout China oppose surrender.  
 Fourth, Japan's program for subjugation of China is very harsh. The Japanese warlords and capitalists offer the people of China their choice between annihilation or fighting for liberation; there is no alternative.  
 Fifth, the situation abroad has greatly changed since the outbreak of the European War.  
 Sixth, a strong Soviet Union with a positive policy of assistance to China must also be counted upon in the solution of world problems. Within the Kuomintang the obstinate elements emphasize unity in form but not in reality. By unity these people mean abolition of the Communist Party, the 8th Route Army and New Fourth Army and the Border Region Government. They want to persuade all Chinese and the Kuomintang to support a one party dictatorship and to enlarge it. How can that be called unity?  
 The 8th Route and New Fourth Armies are holding at bay 2/5 of the Japanese forces in China—seventeen out of forty Japanese divisions. These 2 armies receive pay of only \$730,000 per month; the 8th Route Army receives \$600,000 and the new Fourth Army \$130,000. Since Chinese currency has dropped to half its pre-war value, each soldier is receiving on the average less than one dollar a month. Why should such soldiers be abolished.  
 The Border region is the most progressive area in China, a territory functioning democratically, a base for the anti-Japanese War. Here there are no corrupt officials, no corrupt landlords and gentry, no gambling, no prostitution, no concubinage, no beggars, no profiteers, no scoundrels who live by creating friction and profit from the national crisis. Why should it be abolished?  
 Not long ago the Central Committee of the Communist Party held a meeting at which a resolution setting forth ten important tasks was adopted. These are as follows:

1. We must expose all Wang Chingwei and traitor propaganda, beat down the defeatists and anti-Communists politically and ideologically.
2. We must by all means strengthen the United Front.
3. We must promote the movement for a constitutional government, for the introduction of democratic politics.
4. We must fight against any form of surrender. We will not attack anyone so long as we are not attacked. But if we are attacked, we shall offer a decided counter-attack, for otherwise the united front will be split and our anti-Japanese war will be frustrated.
5. We must encourage the anti-Japanese mass movement on a large scale.
6. We must drastically reduce land rent, interest, taxes and improve the living conditions of the workers.
7. We must strengthen and enlarge all anti-Japanese military bases. They must be anti-Japanese United Front administrations. All traitors or anti-Communists hiding within the anti-Japanese forces, within the anti-Japanese governments, within the anti-Japanese organizations, must be cleaned out.
8. We must strengthen and enlarge the progressive armies.
9. We must promote the anti-Japanese cultural movement on a broad scale.
10. We must fortify the organization of the Communist Party. In places where there is no Party organization, or where it is very weak, we must strengthen it or set up a new one. Without a strong Party, we cannot solve any of the serious problems of the anti-Japanese War, nor of our national salvation."

Agreement missing

Order to New 4<sup>th</sup> Army

Peace group in Chungking

"Obstinate" see previous page

Reactionaries & traitors  
in Kuomintang

Military orders unimportant

U.S., British, Soviet Ambassadors  
co-operate

Roosevelt orders  
Civil War

By Mao Tse-tung

San Min Chu I for the  
moment

To be taken over

then the revolution

NEW MASSES—February 4, 1941, page 20

Letter to Editor from Philip J. Jaffe

"Last July, shortly after this (Mao Tse-tung's) speech, the differences between the two chief parties in China were ironed out and an agreement reached. That agreement was described and commented upon by the New Masses at the time."

"The elements within the Kuomintang which Mao Tse-tung described as 'obstinate' can today be more accurately described as unprincipled reactionaries and traitors who are endeavoring to foment a national crisis in order to profit from it. The means with which they seek to carry out their nefarious schemes are maneuvers designed to destroy the United Front and hand over the Chinese people as slaves to Japan."

They were responsible for the issuance of a government order to the New Fourth Army to leave the area to the south of the Yangtze River and move north of the Yellow River.

These events are a definite indication that the pro-capitulation group in Chungking is planning to replace the anti-Japanese war with a civil war. These ultra-reactionaries have attempted to make it seem that the New 4th Army is guilty of disobeying military orders. The real truth of the matter is that the pro-capitulation group cannot tolerate the existence of this popular army in the Yangtze Valley at a time when they are planning to come to terms with Japan."

"The question of whether the New 4th Army shall remain where it is or move to another area is therefore not a matter of military routine, but a question of capitulating or not capitulating to Japan. That this is the real issue was evidenced by the fact that the American, British and Soviet Ambassadors to Chungking hurriedly warned the Central Government that the situation created by the pro-capitulation group was dangerous for China's cause."

NE WMASSES—February 11, 1941, page 17

Editorial "What Next in China?"

"We have been pointing out in editorials since the currency loan to China that Washington has had the decisive hand in the current crisis. Bolstered by Roosevelt's support which was given with the proviso of an anti-Communist campaign, the Central government has placed China's destiny in the balance. This is one of the most criminal developments since Munich, for the entire future of democracy for the colonial peoples in Asia is bound up with China's struggle."

THE COMMUNIST—March 1941, page 238

"The Communists and China's Three People's Principles" by Mao Tse-tung, General Secretary C.P. of China

"It may be said that the upheaval of 1911 started this revolution in the full sense of the word. In its social character this revolution is bourgeoisie-democratic. It is not yet the socialist revolution of the proletariat."

The type of republic to be established at the moment is the republic of the new democracy of the San Min Chu I of the genuine revolutionary Three people's principles. This new democratic republic is different from the Western capitalist republics. But on the other hand it is different from the type of the socialist U.S.S.R. in which the proletariat is the ruler. The latter is the newest form of republic now in existence and blooming in the Soviet Union and to be established in many other lands. The factors are developing for its establishment in all capitalist countries and it will certainly be adopted throughout the world eventually. The political system should be administered by the revolutionaries and the revolutionary classes, while all counter-revolutionary traitors are excluded. This republic of the new democratic politics and economy is supported by more than 90 per cent of the people of China.

China cannot isolate herself from the help of the socialist nation and the international proletariat. That is to say, China cannot separate herself from the Soviet Union and the victories of the proletariat over the capitalists in Japan, England, the U. S., France, Germany and Italy.

Democracy today  
Socialism in future

If war between U.S.A.  
and USSR, China must  
join Russia, says  
Mao Tse-tung.

Anna Louise Strong.

Communist Spokesman  
charges:

1. pro-Jap elements in Govt.
2. Join Axis
3. Ho Ying Chin, head pro-Jap

12 demands

Chefoo port held. Supplies  
brought from Jap-held Shanghai  
and Tientsin

The victory of China will follow revolutionary victory in one or two of the so-called mentioned capitalist nations. It would be fantastic for China to establish a capitalist society with a capitalist dictatorship after the victory over imperialism and feudalism has been won. The Chinese capitalists are distinguished by their quality of compromise, and the Chinese proletariat by thoroughness and determination.

The Communist Party presents the best program for the present as well as for the future. For today the program is the new democracy. For the future it is socialism. Since the immediate program of the Communist Party of China accords with the fundamental political

principles of San Min Chu I, it is fantastic to shout of 'storing away' Communism. It is because the political principles of San Min Chu I conform with the fundamental points of their immediate program that the Communists recognize San Min Chu I as the political foundation of the anti-Japanese United Front. We recognize San Min Chu I as what China needs today.

Should the struggle between the Soviet Union and British-American imperialism become acute, China will have to take a stand on one side or the other. It is impossible to be neutral.

The genuine San Min Chu I is required to be expressed in an alliance with the Soviet Union and not an alliance with imperialism.

It is clear that the San Min Chu I which deviates from the policy of alliance with the U.S.S.R.; with the Communist Party and with the peasants and workers will have no future."

NEW MASSES—March 18, 1941, page 3

"Inside China. Will there be civil war in China? Anna Louise Strong, just returned from Chungking, tells the first comprehensive story of the crucial events there. Their significance for America."

"The Communists have not accepted the disbanding of the New 4th Army, but have organized their own 'Revolutionary Military Committee' which appointed new commanders for the 90,000 men who still function under the name of the New Fourth north of the Yangtze.

"An official 'spokesman' for this committee . . . charged that the attack on the New 4th was only one step in the plot of the 'pro-Japanese elements who occupy high positions in the government and the Kuomintang' to bring about a peace pact with Japan and to have China join the Berlin-Rome-Tokyo axis. Nowhere in his statement does the spokesman criticize Chiang Kai Shek himself. He attacks by name Ho Ying-chin, Chungking's Minister of War, who has been for some time charged with being the present center of the pro-Japanese forces which formerly grouped around the now puppet-ruler of Nanking, Wang Ching-wei.

On the basis of these extremely serious charges, the 'Revolutionary Military Committee' issued what practically amounts to an ultimatum in 12 points. The demands are of such a drastic nature that they must be considered as an attempt to break through to the Generalissimo's attention by dynamite.

"They include the 'cessation of attacks on Communist Armies,' the revoking of the order disbanding the New 4th, the freeing of its General, Yeh Ting, an open apology by the Government for the 'South Anhwei outrage' and compensation paid to its victims, the abolition of a blockade line now maintained in the Northwest against the Yen-an district, the 'punishment' of Ho Ying chin and several of his subordinates, and the arrest and court-martial of the 'pro-Japanese' elements in Chungking."

They (the Communist 8th Route and New 4th Armies) were, however, allowed to organize peasant guerrillas and on this basis they grew rapidly until by the end of 1940 they claimed from 500,000 to 600,000 armed but unpaid men. They campaigned all over Jap-occupied China, from Manchuria to the Yangtze, from the Mongolian deserts to the sea. They reached the Shantung Coast and held the port of Chefoo long enough to collect customs revenue and run in several shiploads of war supplies, from Shanghai and Tientsin. (page 5)

Both Sun Fo and Pai Chung-hai told me that if the communists would remain in the areas assigned to them, organize only the authorized number of troops, and obey the local magistrates appointed by Chungking, there would be no trouble.

Communist Spokesman  
Charges:

"PLOT"

1. Kuomintang + Japs  
separate 8<sup>th</sup> + 4<sup>th</sup> armies
2. Liquidate separately
3. Arrest Chu Teh
4. Arrest Chou En Lai
5. Seize Yen-an
6. Close Communist Daily
7. Japs join campaign
8. 5<sup>th</sup> Column Peace
9. Undeclared Truce
10. China joins Axis

Communists will join  
U. S. S. R

Soviet-Jap pact (see p. 48)

Manchoukuo recognized

No effect on China (as long  
as Chiang behaves!)

No partition of China  
(see p. 2 - Poland)

If Chiang doesn't behave  
all bets are off.

60.  
The 'spokesman of the Revolutionary Military Committee' issued his detailed charges, outlining the steps of the alleged plot by 'pro-Japanese elements' in Chungking to take China into the Axis. Such accusations have been made for the past year but never in so definite a form. According to the Communist spokesman, the future development of this plot will involve the following: actions by large Chungking armies 'tightly co-operating with the Japanese armies' in the regions below the Yangtse and Yellow Rivers to separate the New 4th from the 8th Route in order to liquidate them separately. Following this, pretexts would be sought for the official disbanding of the 8th Route Army and the arrests of its commander, Chu Teh. Next would come arrests of Communists all over China, including Chou En Lai, official representative of the 8th Route Army in Chungking, who is already under surveillance. Large scale war would be launched to seize Yen-an. The Communist daily newspaper would be closed.

Japan it is alleged, would next withdraw her troops from the Yangtse Valley, and throw them into a ruthless war against the new 4th and 8th Route Armies in North China. Fifth column elements in Chungking would then celebrate the recovery of the lost territories as due to the valor of the Chungking troops and would demand 'a glorious, victorious peace.' If it proved impossible to call off the war officially because of the Chinese people's objections to the Japanese terms, an undeclared truce would reign in all parts of China except the North where the plotters would obstruct the Communist armies by means ranging from blockade to armed attack. Thus Chinese public opinion would be taught that victory had been won everywhere except in those northern regions where 'the Communists either cannot or will not drive out Japan.' This would make possible the signing of the actual peace pact which would leave Japan or Jap puppets in control of N. China—insofar as they could clear out the Communists—and of China's ports. China would then join the Axis.

If large scale civil war is launched against Yen-an, we may look to see Communist forces break through the cordon of Government troops which have continually blockaded them from any contact with the USSR and which, barring the excuse of civil war—they would not dare try to force."

NEW MASSES—April 22, 1941

"The Soviet-Japanese Pact"

"The biggest news (of the week) though not surprising, was the pact between the Soviet Union and Japan. Both of them agree to mutual respect for the territory of Manchukuo and the Outer Mongolian Peoples' Republic.

There is no evidence at all that this pact changes the relations of either party toward China.

So long as China remains united, so long as the present crisis in the United Front does not yet change the character of China's struggle, Soviet policy need not be expected to change."

NEW MASSES—April 29, 1941, page 21

"More on the Soviet-Japanese Pact"

... as readers of New Masses know, much of the trouble within China's United Front has come from pro-Japanese elements. The agreement has not changed the status quo for China. But some columnists, like Samuel Grafton, of the New York Post have chattered away about an imminent 'division of China.' These are gentlemen who never got over the German-Soviet pact, and learned neither history nor Marxism from it. China is a very different country from Poland historically, and in every other respect. There is nothing analogous in the Far East to the cordon sanitaire, the creatures of Versailles, which existed in Eastern Europe. The USSR liberated western Ukraine and Byelorussia because the era of Versailles was over. There is no basis for similar events in the Far East. The question arises of what Soviet policy would be in the event of a complete breakdown of the (Chinese) United Front. It would be presumptive to answer that question off-hand.

Dumbarton Oaks

Salutations to China

No War  
No A.E.F.  
No Convoys  
No annexations  
No defense  
No Yanks  
No indemnities

Communist Good Neighbors

Hysterical Dorothy  
Thompson

Edgar Snow gets line wrong

Raymond Gram Swing in  
same boat (p. 31)

NEW MASSES—May 6, page 5

"America's Peace Movement

"It was not until after Labor Day last year that the Emergency Peace Mobilization took form. By contrast with EPM the American People's Meeting last month has made remarkable strides. New leaders have come forward, old ones have gained new stature. Men like Frederick V. Field . . . Harry F. Ward . . . John V. Thompson—John P. Davis, Max Yergan, Paul Robeson . . . James Jackson . . . Reid Robinson . . . Joseph Curran . . . Vito Marcantonio. Whole delegations came from the picket lines of some of labor's historic struggles from Allis-Chalmers, from Ford, from International Harvester. One of the most significant facts was the negro delegation, some 354, a large share from the South. Some 300 or more delegates represented national groups—the Bulgarians, Slovaks, Poles, Italians, Czechs, Irish. The big fact was the emergence of local representation of more than 1000 people from individual peace clubs, all of whom have been organized in the last 7 months."

THE COMMUNIST—May 1941

"Close Ranks on May Day—Manifesto of the National Committee, Communist Party" (of U. S.) page 404

"American labor will extend a hand to the colonial peoples throughout the world . . . send brotherly May Day salutations to the heroic people of China as they fight against the armed forces or intrigues of all the imperialists, including those of Wall Street."

"American workers, farmers, youth, working women, white and Negro people:

Get out and keep out of the imperialist War—no convoys, no AEF—the Yanks are not coming—Dissolve the Anglo-American War alliance—For a people's peace with no indemnities and no annexations—against the militarization of the U. S. under the false pretense of national defense.

Support the peace policy of the Soviet Union—Full aid to China."

THE COMMUNIST—May 1941, page 443

"Manifesto of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Mexico, Mexico City" Mar. 10, 1941.

Headings of manifesto read:

"The Imperialist Character of the War"

"A War Alien to the Interests of the Peoples"

"Lies about Democracy"

"The Real Aims of Yankee Imperialism"

"They Seek to Plunge Mexico into the Imperialist War"

"The Mexican People do not Want Military Alliances"

"Instead of Naval Bases useful work for the National Economy"

"The Danger that the Naval and Air Bases Represent"

"The Greatest Danger to Mexico is Wall Street"

"No Support to either of the Imperialist Group"

NEW MASSES—June 24, 1941, page 5

"Freedom of the Press in Britain"

"We feel their remarks (British Liberals) have considerable bearing upon the American scene, where a red hunt of unprecedented proportions is being sponsored by the government and backed by such hysterical publicists as Dorothy Thompson, who called for suppression of the New York Daily Worker and the New Masses, last week."

THE COMMUNIST—May 1941, page 470

"The Battle for Asia by Edgar Snow reviewed by Paul Varick."

"Snow's efforts to build up an ultra-peculiar 'Nationalistic' Communist Party of China. . . Can Snow be unaware that the national liberation struggle, in which the Chinese Communists are the staunchest fighters, is in no way 'Nationalist' but is bound up with proletarian internationalism? And who has voiced this truth more strongly than Mao Tse-tung. He has often heard Mao Tse-tung say that freedom for the colonies can only be won by joint efforts of the colonial peoples, the proletariat of the imperialist countries and the Soviet Union."



Peace is "out the window"

THE COMMUNIST—July 1941, page 579  
"Support the U.S.S.R. in its fight against Nazi War" (Statement of Communist Party of U.S.A.—June 22, 1941)  
The other articles in this issue were evidently written before June 22, 1941 and contain, in all references to the War, the description "imperialistic."

Imperialist War " " "

THE COMMUNIST—August 1941  
Editorials page 659  
"The new turn to involvement of the Soviet Union in the war does in fact change the character of the war; that it has become a war for defense and of all the peoples of the world against Nazi enslavement." It will no longer be called an "imperialistic war."

China?

NEW MASSES—July 8, 1941, page 3  
"Why this is our War. History takes another sharp turn. Transformations in the character of the war. New Tactics and New Values. How to defend our country by helping the USSR. An editorial."  
"We feel the most important thing at this time is to unite all those who wish the defeat of Hitlerism behind a program of full assistance to the Soviet Union, Britain and all the peoples fighting Nazism—the Editors."

July 25, 1941 Japanese Funds frozen

NEW MASSES—July 29, 1941, page 3

China

"America Dare Not Wait. An Editorial"  
"At one blow the entire character of the war was changed and the menace of a Hitler-dominated Europe and Asia was thrust like a loaded revolver at the heart of America . . . fully 3/4 of our people support the policy enunciated by President Roosevelt of all possible aid to Britain and the USSR."

SECOND FRONT

THE COMMUNIST—September 1941, page 756  
"Editorials"  
"Thus will the U.S. be able, in the first place, to exercise its full influence and support for the creation of a second front in the West."

Aid to China

NEW MASSES—November 4, 1941, page 22  
"Secretary Knox's speech should be backed up by the opening of immediate discussions among the United States, Britain, the Soviet Union and China for active military collaboration in the Far East. Together with this, full participation by this country in the world-wide war against Hitlerism would act as a powerful check on Japanese ambitions. In fact, nothing would have such a sobering effect on the Tokyo warlords."

Stalins pledges to Europe & Asia.

THE COMMUNIST—July 1942, page 494  
"Speech of Stalin to Moscow City Soviet, Nov. 6, 1941"  
"We have not and cannot have such war aims as the seizure of foreign territories, the subjugation of foreign peoples, regardless of whether it concerns peoples and territories of Europe or peoples and territories of Asia, including Iran. We have not and cannot have such war aims as imposing our will and our regime on the Slavs and other enslaved peoples of Europe who are awaiting our aid. Our aid consists in assisting these people in their liberation struggle against Hitler tyranny and then setting them free to rule on their own land as they desire. No intervention whatever in the internal affairs of other peoples!"

Especially IRAN SLAVS

No intervention.

ANOTHER HONEYMOON

Pro-Axis group vanishing

United Front O.K.

Japs threaten Siberia

Military Experting

Japan: strong militarily  
weak economically

Some good Japs

NEW MASSES—July 15, 1941

"Indecision in the Far East" by Woo Young-Hoi (Woo Yeung-Hoi is the pseudonym of a Chinese writer living in this country)

"Recent events have weakened the position of the pro-Axis group in Chungking and strengthened those who wish to see Anglo-American-Soviet co-operation with China.

The Soviet struggle against the Nazis will undoubtedly greatly hearten China and help recement Chinese unity. Even before the new war began, China had successfully come through the crisis in unity created by the attack on the New 4th Army last January. It is difficult to imagine that today, under changed conditions, Chinese armies will be ordered to attack other Chinese forces. This arises from the two-fold significance of the new situation for China: on the one hand it is more encouraging to unity; on the other it makes dissension more dangerous, since the world situation is so critical."

NEW MASSES—Oct. 21, 1941, page 20.

"Observers credit reports that Japanese armies are creating a semblance of activity in China to mask increasingly formidable transfers of troops to the Siberian border. General Hseuh Yueh, commanding Chinese forces at Changsha, stated that Japan has concentrated 32 divisions on the USSR frontier. The need is clear for a firm stand against Japanese aggression by Great Britain and the United States, for a positive warning that an act of war against the Soviet Union would be an act of war against the British and our own country. Japan can be allowed not even a shadow of a doubt that there will be no far Eastern Munich, that appeasement policies have been discarded once and for all."

NEW MASSES—Nov. 18, 1941, page 20

"No Truck with Tokyo"

"There are a couple of thousand airplanes around Batavia; there are Singapore and Manila with the major parts of the American fleet and a good section of the British fleet; there is China with its powerful armies in the field; there are our own troops in the Philippines and Hawaii which have been on a war footing since midsummer and there is the entire Soviet Far Eastern Army and the Far Eastern fleet of surface and underwater craft.

In short there is no reason why we should not take the initiative with Tokyo. It should be made clear to them that the U. S., with its Associated Powers, insists that they make no further move in any direction. And it ought to be made clear that the American people want them to get out of China."

"In any case it is still true that there are still forces in our State Department that would like to appease Japan."

NEW MASSES—Dec. 16, 1941, page 11

"How Strong is Japan" by Frederick V. Field.

"First of all let no one deceive himself and thereby deceive his country, that Japan's defeat is going to be easy."

"Japan's navy, the third largest in the world, is a formidable opponent for the Allied powers."

"Japan's airforce has been universally sized up as inferior to ours in every respect.

The strength of the Japanese Army has always been shrouded in even deeper secrecy than the strength of the Navy and Airforce.

How strong is Japanese economy? . . . This downward trend in industrial production is bound to continue while Japan fights the United States. In addition, Manchuria, that much talked of 'life-line' had turned out to be a white elephant.

But there is one more factor which must be taken into consideration. That is the character and state of mind of the Japanese people themselves."

" . . . discontent is there . . . sharp defeat would cause despair and serious difficulties for the regime at home. There is a tradition of peasant organization and there were a Japanese trade union movement and strong Communist influences, especially in the cultural field."

Sir Stafford Cripps  
quotes Stalin  
Post-war collaboration  
Soviet-Polish pact  
China  
non-intervention in Europe  
Roosevelt strategy

64  
THE COMMUNIST—March 1942, page 114

"America and the United Nations" by Eugene Dennis

"In a signed article in the New York Times, Feb. 7, 1942, Sir Stafford Cripps stated: 'I am confident, and I know this from the highest authority, the Soviet Union is anxious and most willing to work with Great Britain and America after the war.' Judging from recent events alone, such as the Soviet communique on the Stalin Eden conference, the Soviet Polish pact, the Declaration of the United Nations . . . this is the orientation which the Soviet Union is endeavoring resolutely to facilitate . . . to support firmly China's struggle for national liberation, to assist the peoples of Europe in their liberation struggle and then 'setting them free to rule on their own land as they desire.' (Stalin: Report to the session of the Moscow Soviet, Nov. 6, 1941.) To consolidate further the total war effort of the United Nations it is essential that much more be done to develop a single world strategy against the Axis Powers. The direction of the main blow is the question of strategy. And the President correctly proposes to solve it by directing the main blow against Hitlerite Germany."

Pacific War + Russia

THE COMMUNIST—March 1942, page 143

"The Far Eastern Front in the War against the Axis" by James S. Allen

"The New Axis onslaught (in the Pacific) underlines the necessity of the closest military and political alliance between the U. S., the Soviet Union, Britain and China for the joint prosecution of the war on a world scale . . . for an indivisible victory and an indivisible peace. The Chinese War of liberation is basically linked with the just war being waged by the Soviet Union, England, the United States and their allies against Hitlerism in the West and its Axis partner in the East.

Tanaka Memorial  
genuine

It cannot be argued that the aims of the Japanese military-fascists in Asia were a secret. They were fully explained in the 'blood and iron' memorial of Premier Tanaka as early as 1937, and today no one is to be found who still claims that it is a forgery.

1,000,000 Jap troops in China

In the Far East . . . the Soviet Union is making a great contribution for victory by continuing her supplies to China and by pinning down at least one-third of Japan's military power on the Siberian frontiers. China is engaging at least 1,000,000 Japanese soldiers, while the combined strength in the South Pacific of Britain, the United States, Dutch and Australians—with additional direct help from China—is coping with an armed force which in all branches does not exceed 500,000 men.

500,000 fighting British  
Dutch + U.S.A.

The great role which China has played and can increasingly play in contributing to the defeat of Japan . . . requires that China be given her full recognition within the developing world alliance.

Recognition for China

. . . this would mean that the United Nations make it clear that the joint defeat of the Axis would assure recognition of an independent Korea and Formosa and the restoration of Manchuria and all occupied areas of China to a unified China."

Manchuria to China

Unity

THE COMMUNIST—April 1942, page 239

"The New Role of China" by James S. Allen

"The China of internecine wars, divided into warring principalities and autonomous provinces . . . is definitely a thing of the past. Free China is experiencing a degree of unity which that country has never had in its history.

No gains for Japs since  
1938

Since October 1938 the Japanese invaders have been stalemated by the remarkable resistance of the Chinese Nation. Sixteen months after Japan launched its new aggression against China in July 1937 the military-fascist troops were unable to make any further important advances, and subsequently they have been pushed back on some fronts, and are continually being harassed in the occupied areas.

Govt. representative

The key to China's resistance is to be found in the National Anti-Japanese United Front. As a result of the National United Front, the Central Government of China became a more representative government of national defense, rallying all groups and organizations devoted to national independence, and taking some steps to introduce and extend elementary democratic liberties for the people."

Second Front helps  
China

How to win the War.

Vast armies  
High morale

Lin Yu Tang says  
China did not hoard  
"Flying Tigers"

Fred'k V. Field quotes  
Tanaka Memorial

No Jap gains in China  
since 1938

NEW MASSES—June 2, 1942, page 22

"Readers Forum"

"To New Masses: Congratulations on New Masses special 'How to Win the War in 1942' issue. . . . My own special field of information is the Far East. You have to make a thoroughly convincing case to show that the best way to smash Japan is to shoot the works now in Europe. You've done it. I agree with you: we go on hitting at the Japanese as hard as we can, but our big immediate offensive must be in Europe where, thanks to the Red Armies, the heart of the Axis can be throttled this year.

Frederick V. Field"

NEW MASSES—June 30, 1942, page 9

"A Second Front will Beat Japan" by Frederick V. Field

"During the remainder of the year, while the second front against Hitler is being launched and driven to its irresistible conclusion, here are some of the objectives that must be achieved in the Western Pacific.

(1) It is generally accepted that Australia must be held.

(2) India must be defended. . . .

(3) China's vast armies, high morale, and potential striking power are the vital factors in the whole Far Eastern phase of the war. For when Japan is finally defeated it will have been China's courageous perseverance and final offensive that have done the job. The efforts of other members of the United Nations will inevitably be ancillary to China's. Therefore a cardinal objective of the immediate future is to give China all the aid she requires.

(6) There is finally . . . the guerrilla or partisan front in China, which has unremittingly harassed the invader in the so-called occupied regions."

NEW MASSES—July 7, 1942, page 16

"Must China Fight Alone" by Lin Yutang

"The Burma campaign was fought as a delaying action to give a few months for the defense of India. There was no intention to hold Burma, although the Burma Road means to China what the Suez Canal means to the middle East and the Atlantic sea lanes mean to England. In all the 5 years China was given 100 P-40's of the older type almost as an oversight which China did not hoard up at Chungking but promptly donated to the common defense of the Allies. Up to May this year not a single American plane had arrived in China since Pearl Harbor."

NEW MASSES—July 7, 1942, page 12

"China After 5 Years. Frederick V. Field surveys China's position. Japan's offensive threatens a complete blockade. How to meet it. 'Full and unquestioned equality' in the world anti-axis front."

The prediction of the Tanaka Memorial that 'if we want to control China, we must first crush the United States' became true, but for reasons altogether different from those envisaged by Japan's fascist cabal in 1927. For China's 5 year defense has . . . demonstrated the power of a united nation fighting for its liberties.

Virtually all Japan's gains in China were made in the 16 months following July 7, 1937. The areas now appearing as shaded in the newspaper maps are virtually the same today as they were on November 1, 1938.

Increasingly forms of guerrilla warfare have assumed prominence in harassing the invaders in the so-called occupied areas and in co-operating with the main armies in preventing further advances.

Generalissimo's 60  
guerilla divisions

All Jap advances  
repulsed

China must sit with  
U.S.S.R.

Review of Chinese  
War Theater

Front stabilized

1<sup>st</sup> Victory of Changsha

2<sup>nd</sup> Victory of Changsha

3<sup>rd</sup> " " "

Conclusions

Earl Browder Retracts

Following the fall of Hankow in 1938, Generalissimo Chiang Kai Shek sent no less than 60 divisions to the East of the Jap positions for the purpose of harassing their rear . . . and the guerrilla forces in the north, under the direction of the Communist led 8th Route Army, organized and carried out partisan resistance.

Three major campaigns were launched by the fascists against Changsha . . . all ending in serious and humiliating defeat for the Mikado's soldiers. A strong Japanese force succeeded in capturing the important city of Chengchow . . . but a month later, in November 1941, they were forced to withdraw. Large campaigns were launched during 1941 in an attempt to seize the South China Coast so as to put a stop to the military supplies that were reaching Chinese troops from these ports and to protect Jap coastwise shipping, but these invasions were also repulsed."

China must sit at the United Nations war councils in a position of full and unquestioned equality with the United States, Great Britain and the U.S.S.R. It must be just as much China's decision as it must be ours that the immediate major effort of the United Nations is to be the establishment of a second front against Hitler."

THE COMMUNIST—August 1942, page 640

"Five Years of the Sino-Japanese War" by Col. M. Tolchenov

"The first attempt to encircle and annihilate the main force of the Chinese Army was undertaken by the Japanese in November 1937 in the district of Nanking, but failed in encircling the Chinese units there. The object of the new Japanese offensive was Hankow. Battles and the approaches to this important point raged almost throughout the second half of 1938. The capture of Hankow cost the Japanese 300,000 killed and wounded.

The characteristic feature of the second stage of the war which followed the battles for Hankow were the relative stabilization of the fronts. By that time the flames of guerrilla warfare flared up on the territories captured by the Japanese.

In September 1939 the Japanese launched a concentric offensive on Changsha. The attempt failed and cost them from 30,000 to 35,000 killed and wounded.

In May 1941 the Japanese launched an offensive in Southern Shansi Province by over 100,000 troops supported by aircraft and artillery, aimed to reach the Northern bank of the Hungho for a subsequent offensive on Sian-Loyang. Lacking adequate forces for continuing the offensive on Sian and Loyang, the Japanese changed to the defensive on this sector of the front.

In September 1941 the Japanese launched a second offensive on Changsha. This operation cost the Japanese some 40,000 killed and wounded. The Chinese captured considerable trophies and took many prisoners.

A third offensive on Changsha was launched which also came to grief. According to the Chinese press from Dec. 1, 1941 to Jan. 26, 1942, alone, the Japanese troops on the central front lost 56,900 men. In five years of struggle the Japanese not only failed to break the resistance of the Chinese but that resistance grew steadily stronger. The Chinese Government, headed by Chiang Kai Shek, succeeded in creating a new military and economic base, in reorganizing and consolidating its armed forces, building up a strong and united army. Far from exhausting its strength, the Chinese Army is incomparably stronger today and continues to fight for the national liberation of its native land as courageously, firmly and heroically as before."

NEW MASSES—Oct. 27, 1942, page 21

Refers to Oct. 4 "Worker" containing Browder's charges.

"After session Browder stated: 'I believe our war effort will be benefited if I make public that portion of Mr. Welles remarks which was given me in written form.' We quote extracts from that memorandum:

Sumner Welles states

Chiang "is not Keeping his best armies out of war."

This government desires Chinese unity and deprecates civil strife in China; this Government treats the government of China as an equal; it does not dictate to the government of China; it does not make U. S. friendship contingent; it regards unity within China, unity within the U. S., unity within each of the countries of the United Nations as utterly desirable. . . .

Other extracts from Mr. Welles memorandum state: "With regard to the specific "charge that it is on the advice of reactionary officials in the State Department that Chiang Kai Shek is keeping his best armies out of the war," the simple fact is that the nearest approach to "advice" given by any officials in the Department of State in this context has been an expression of an opinion that civil strife in China, at all times unfortunate, would be especially unfortunate at a time when China is engaged in a desperate struggle of self defense against an armed invader."

"And the course which Chiang Kai Shek has been pursuing is not "keeping his best armies out of the war." Both the Armies of the National Government and the Communist armies are fighting the Japanese."

Under these circumstances Mr. Browder "was more than happy to retract those charges without reservation. What I had thought of as a heavy door that needed pushing open proved to be but a curtain of lack of information."

China Needs Aid

NEW MASSES—Jan. 12, 1943, page 4

"China Needs Aid"  
"New Masses has consistently taken the position that the opening of a second front in Europe was the all-important first task for defeating the Axis. We have, however, simultaneously pointed out that the exigencies of global war did not permit the letting down of our heroic Chinese ally, either militarily or politically."

FEB. 4, 1943 - Victory of Stalingrad

THIRD COMMUNIST-KUOMINTANG HONEYMOON ENDS

NEW MASSES—January 26, 1943, page 21

"Behind the Chinese Front" by Fred'k V. Field  
"First of all, China is not being treated as an equal among the great nations whose leadership of the United Nations is acknowledged."

"Closely related to the first point, the Chinese Government indicates that it is not being supplied with even minimum materials of war—that, as a matter of fact, the war set-up is such that it has no opportunity even to present its point of view."

"Thirdly—they indicate that the second class status accorded China during the war has caused widespread lack of confidence in our intentions after the war."

"What do the principles of the Atlantic Charter mean if they are not applicable to the conduct of the War itself.

China has not yet welded itself into a unified nation, China has not yet freed itself of the shackles of semi-colonialism, China today is not putting forward its maximum strength against the common enemy, Japan."

"We must not fall into the error of interpreting these difficulties in a way which will be divisive or defeatist, any more than we can fall into the same error in analyzing our own deficiencies.

Chinese Government leaders have pleaded for foreign aid. . . . It is true that their internal situation is grave. Certainly they do not have the military equipment they need to roll back the Japanese hordes. But, as the current issue of AMERASIA comments: "The Chinese armies have done as well if not better during this past year than in any of their previous 5 years of war, and have scored notable victories in every part of China."

No consultation

No supplies

Chinese fear intentions

China not making full effort

Victories of 1942

BUT

8<sup>th</sup> + 4<sup>th</sup> Armies get no  
Supplies

Engage 3/5 Jap army

Take 50,000 prisoners

1,000,000 govt. troops  
Kept out of war despite  
Sumner Welles (p. 67)

Kuomintang leaders  
fear CHINESE PEOPLE  
more than JAPS.

Communists against 1 Party  
rule in CHINA

Chinese Censor Sumner  
Welles

Great Rice Bowl Victory

Reactionaries  
Defeatists

68  
The weakness to which government publicists refer is not China's real weakness. It reflects, rather, a serious situation which . . . is frequently exploited to hide the fundamental internal weakness of China. To quote AMERASIA again: 'If Chinese spokesmen like Dr. Lin Yutang and General Hsuing complain that China lacks arms and supplies for any offensive action, what can be said about the 600,000 guerrilla troops in North and Central China under the 8th Route and New Fourth armies which have not received a single gun from the Central Government in over 3 years and have still been able to engage forty percent of all Japanese forces in China, account for more than 300,000 enemy casualties and take some 50,000 prisoners?' And the appeal made by these guerrillas is not for more aid from abroad, but for greater internal unity.

China's great weakness today lies in her internal disunity. By no means all the nations resources are concentrated on the all important task of defeating Japan. One million Kuomintang troops remain immobilized from the fighting front against Japan because they are engaged in blockading the areas in which the Chinese guerrillas operate and in which democratic political and economic institutions have been introduced under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party."

"Underlying the blockade is the fear of certain powerful reactionary elements in the Kuomintang that the necessities of war will bring a spread of agrarian reform and of other democratic institutions on which national unity must be based. Six weeks ago the Communist leader, Mao Tse Tung said, after describing the economic and political steps taken in the northwest, 'these measures are intended to unite people of all classes so that they may unite their forces to resist Japanese aggression and to reconstruct the nation. Such a policy is a policy of democracy not of one-party rule. It is a policy which fits in with Chinese national conditions and we hope that it will be realized not only within the various anti-Japanese bases behind the enemy's lines but also throughout the whole country.' The meaning of these words and the condition which they were designed to correct are identical with the significance of the declaration of policy recently made by Undersecretary of State Sumner Welles in reply to Earl Browder's article in which the latter raised the issue of China's internal strife as damaging to the war effort. In that declaration Mr. Welles stated 'This government desires Chinese unity and deprecates civil strife in China . . . it regards unity within China, unity within the U. S., unity within each of the countries of the United Nations, and unity among the United Nations as utterly desirable toward effectively carrying on war against the Axis powers and toward the creation and maintenance of conditions of just peace when the United Nations shall have gained the victory which is to be theirs.' This American declaration was immediately cabled in full to newspapers in Chungking but the Chinese government refused to permit its publication."

NEW MASSES—July 13, 1943, page 16

"Outlook in China" by Fred'k V. Field

"As the Chinese people surveyed the situation at the beginning of the 7th year of war these were the highlights of what they saw in the military field. At home they were properly cheered by a great victory won under the most trying circumstances. The Japanese attempt to occupy and devastate the fertile rice bowl of the middle Yangtze around Ichang had been turned into a severe military defeat. Chinese troops, lacking military equipment, weakened by under-nourishment, and thwarted by run away prices for the essentials of life, cut a large Japanese force to ribbons to regain more territory than the Japanese advance had taken."

"Reactionary elements in the Kuomintang have retained sufficient power to prevent full unity between the party and the Communists: Complete unity of the Chinese people under the leadership of Generalissimo Chiang Kia Shek is impeded by the actions of a defeatist exploiting clique."

USSR invokes  
Atlantic Charter

NEW MASSES—June 15, 1943, page 18

"The Atlantic Charter and the U.S.S.R." by Alter Brody  
"The U.S.S.R. invoked the Charter and the principles of self-determination for its white Russian and Ukranian brothers of 'Eastern Poland' and for the legally conducted plebiscites, by which the Estonian, Latvian and Lithuanian people self-determined themselves back into the Soviet Union."

Arthur Upham Pope (speaking for Russia)  
warns

- POLAND
- TURKEY
- PERSIA
- CHINA

NEW MASSES—June 22, 1943, page 11, by Arthur Upham Pope  
"Russia needs to secure her borders and cannot possibly allow the small Baltic States, for example ever again to be made use of by reactionary powers for aggressive purposes. Soviet Russia wants not only a free strong and independent Poland, but an independent and prosperous Turkey, Persia and China; and will undoubtedly work toward these ends."

# amerasia

A REVIEW OF AMERICA AND ASIA

July 25, 1943

## China's War Potential

By Hsu Yung-Ying

Figures used  
by I.P.R.  
publications

### CASUALTIES INFLICTED BY THE CHINESE ARMY 1937-1942

	Killed	Wounded	Captured
1937 (½ yr.)	85,350	170,750	1,480
1938	148,134	296,756	2,859
1939	196,245	273,550	5,910
1940	114,426	229,191	3,070
1941	105,067	209,753	3,866
942	53,435	107,982	4,119

July '37-Dec. '42  
5½-yr. Annual Average

\* The most recent figures for the 12 months (mid-1942 to mid-1943) show a slight upturn which is not, however, of a nature to indicate a reversal of the general trend.

1. Sources of data: For calendar years 1937-1942, Chinese Military Committee Communiqué, *Ta Kung Pao*, Chungking, March 24, 1943. For the year of mid-1941 to mid-1942, *China After Five Years of War*, Chinese News Service, New York, 1942, p. 62.

### LOSSES INFLICTED BY THE 18th GROUP ARMY, 1937-42

	Killed and Wounded		Japanese
	Japanese	"Puppets"	Japanese
1st 9 months ending May '38	34,007		1,094
(A) Annual Rate ending May '38	45,242		1,453
37 mo. (June '38-June '41)	145,695	60,486	306
(B) Annual Average (June '38-'41)	47,252	19,617	99
(C) Year of July '41-June '42	50,306	39,536	284
58 mo. total (Sept. '38-June '42)	230,008	94,022	1,684
Annual Average			

2. Data are based on the following sources: For September 1937-May 1938: An article by Gen. Chu Teh, Commander-in-Chief of the Eighteenth Group Army, *Hsin Hua Tih Pao* (New China Daily), Hankow, July 24, 1938. For the period ending mid-1941: *Chaiyang Jih Pao Hsien' an* (Selections from Daily Emancipation), Yen-an, August 15, 1941. For 1941-1942: Articles translated into English collected by Mr. Edgar Snow from Chinese Communist representatives in Chungking and made available through the courtesy of Mrs. Snow (Nym Wales).



Model United Front of  
Tito-Mikhailovich  
Example of "New World"

NEW MASSES—October 26, 1943  
"Yugoslavia's Real Liberators", page 16  
"The Yugoslav Peoples Liberation Front . . . had room for Communists and various kinds of anti fascist non-Communists. The Axis and Mikhailovich assisted in varying degrees by the Yugoslav Government in London and some of the agents of the British War Office (up to January 1943) tried to wreck it, by suppressing the facts of its existence for over a year. But the flood waters breached the censorship, first weakened by Moscow, the Inter-Continent News and the leftist press in England and America. People who used to belong to many parties are working and fighting for something beyond the whole batch of fear-ridden counter-revolutionary impulses, and unrealistic revolutionary notions of the previous 25 years, beyond the red-herrings and the Stalinist-Trotskyite struggle, beyond the Moscow trials and the Russo-German pact, beyond World War II. That something is as yet without a name unless it is 'a New World'. The Yugoslav Liberation Front contains a lesson for the rest of the Allied World. It is a working united front. Louis Adamic."

80%

United Front in  
Greece

NEW MASSES—October 5, 1943, page 19  
"Zero Hour in Greece"  
"There is every reason to believe that 80% of the people of Greece are already under the control of a National Liberation Front and its military organ, the National People Liberation Army. This organization was born at a time . . . when the King had fled the country with a new government. The remnants of the King's party in Greece joined the Nazis and immediately began to spread the gospel of defeatism. Yet within a year a new life dawned. The National Liberation Front, known as the EAM, was the nucleus of the life. The outside world does not hear much about the Greek EAM because it is being blacked out in the same manner and for the same reasons that the Partisans of Yugoslavia have been blacked out. It must be noted that the EAM is composed of all political anti-fascist creeds—democrats, socialists, liberals and communists."

Sen. Capper on  
United Front

NEW MASSES—Nov. 9, 1943, page 13  
"How can closer relations be welded between U.S. & U.S.S.R.?"  
"Sen. Arthur Capper (Kansas)"  
"On the negative side, a realization and acceptance as facts that (1) Russia is better qualified to deal with the problems created by other nations in her neighborhood than is the U. S.; and (2) that the U. S. is better qualified to deal with the problems created by other nations in the Western Hemisphere than is Russia."

Lenin explains  
United Front

NEW MASSES—Dec. 7, 1943, page 17  
"Lenin in 1905 said: 'Great questions in the life of nations are settled only by force.'"

Are we backing  
wrong horse in  
CHINA?

NEW MASSES—November 2, 1943, page 14  
"China's Internal Crisis" by Frederick V. Field  
"Is the problem of Chinese internal unity properly the concern of Americans? Is it any of our business to air China's dirty linen in public? Can we serve a useful purpose by doing so or do we merely make matters worse? The answer is that China's internal disunity is very much our concern."

Yarnell hopelessly out of  
tune with experts.  
(see p. 56)

(Adm. Harry E. Yarnell's letter to New York Times, Nov. 14, 1942)  
"In the war against Japan the main effort must come from the mainland of Asia, which means China. Principally from that area must be given the blows that will bring Japan to her knees. The manpower and air bases are ready. All that are lacking are planes, guns and munitions."

# Appeasers

## Chiang's program

5 years

Economic base sabotaged by defeatists & capitulators

Ample resources for war economy

No reinforcements for army  
unfit troops

All foreign military observers find Chinese commanders weak & backward

Fronts unco-ordinated

no open advocates of surrender

Defeatists in high places

complacency + defeatism

### DAILY WORKER—August 12, 1943

Soviet Expert Warns of Appeasers in China. By Vladimir Rogov. (Reprinted from the Soviet trade union periodical, The War and the Working Class) (By wireless to Inter-Continental News)

Moscow, August 11. During the six years of war the Chinese command, at the cost of considerable territorial losses, succeeded in saving its troops from defeat. Despite the numerous odds the Chinese Army preserved its capacity for resistance.

In defensive battles on an extremely long front the Chinese army, weakening the Japanese troops, gained the necessary time for reorganizing its troops and strengthening their fighting capacity. Soon after the fall of Wuhan (Hankow) in October 1938, Chiang Kai-shek outlined a program for reorganization of the country's armed forces, whose principal points were as follows:

Firstly, China's national policy must become the policy of a long, defensive war.

Secondly, the necessity to develop the guerrilla movement.

Thirdly, for conducting a general counter-offensive it is necessary to create a new, many millions strong army, trained in the use of the most up-to-date war equipment.

#### COVERT OPPOSITION

However, from the outset, the intentions of the commander-in-chief of the Chinese Army, Chiang Kai-shek, met with covert resistance.

Three years have passed since then. The reforms in the army with the aim of training new cadres, reorganizing control and strengthening discipline were not completed, and the task of the creation of their own war economic base was not accomplished. The main reason for this is the diverse work of the "appeasers", the defeatists and capitulators.

The war economy resources of National China (Free China) are tremendous and afford an adequate base for the rearmament and supply of the massed army. On its territory National China has all the strategic raw materials necessary for the conduct of a prolonged war. Nevertheless, large scale construction has not been undertaken since the industrial and financial circles prefer to engage in profiteering rather than invest their capital in the armaments industry.

The element favoring capitulation have sabotaged the measures for mobilizing the internal resources with the object of creating their own war economy base, as well as the measures for extending economic warfare against the Japanese invaders.

#### NO REGULAR REINFORCEMENTS

China has no lack of human reserves, but the Chinese army nevertheless receives no regular reinforcements. There are insufficient trained reserves. There is not even an organized military registration of the population. To this day the law on universal military service is not fully carried out. The army receives a large percentage of men unfit for service.

The main defect of the Chinese army is the shortage of trained commanding personnel. All foreign military observers who have visited the Chinese army agree that the Chinese soldier is tenacious and enduring in the field and is unpretentious as far as food and uniforms are concerned; whereas the commanding personnel is extremely weak and backward in military and technical training.

The army's equipment is still of low level. The organization and control of troops are far from perfect. One of the defects of the Chinese army is lack of an effective united command and of coordinated operations on the separate fronts. The internal friction and suspicion among the generals could not but affect the fighting capacity of the troops and their discipline.

In Chungking, of course, there are no open advocates of surrender, but this does not mean that there is a lack of capitulators and defeatists there.

The capitulators and defeatists who occupy important positions in the Kuomintang weaken the strength of China by their harmful political intrigues and constitute a serious danger at present.

Since December, 1941, the Japanese have centered their attention on the war in the Pacific. The war in China has receded to the background. This has led to the appearance among Chinese military and political leaders of a certain complacency of which the Japanese took

Chinese peace offensive  
Japs stress disunity

8th Route Army

"Plot" attack

"Plot" (see p. 60)

China needs no help

What's needed for victory  
as see in great neutral  
capital

Fred'K.V. Field  
(see agreement p. 2)

Only a working arrangement

those defeatists

Campaign of vilification  
Deep respect after June 22, 1941

Pearl Buck (see p. 80)

advantage to intensify their "peace offensive."

JAPANESE MACHINATIONS

The Japanese conquerors are now concentrating on deepening and sharpening the internal contradictions in China and are trying in every way to utilize these contradictions to weaken China and strengthen their positions in the struggle against China.

These Japanese plans profit from the maneuvers of the Chinese "appeasers", who provoke conflicts and incidents up to armed clashes, do their utmost to undermine the military collaboration of Kuomintang circles with the Communist Party and incite the persecution and rout of the Eighth and Fourth Armies, which as units of China's united national army have inscribed many heroic pages in the history of the resistance of the Chinese people to the Japanese invaders.

Today by direct military pressure new attempts are being made to bring about the dissolution of the Chinese Communist Party and the liquidation of the Eighth and Fourth Armies. The Chinese command has transferred new divisions to the district where these armies are stationed, with tremendous supplies of munitions and food, obviously in preparation for an attack on the Eighth and Fourth Armies with aim of liquidating them even at the price of unleashing civil war.

Such an attack of the Chungking generals on the Eighth and Fourth Armies which, moreover, is completely unprovoked by these armies, would be a treacherous stabbing in the back of the Chinese people and play into the hands of the Japanese imperialists who could hope for nothing better.

A number of outstanding Kuomintang leaders oppose such treacherous activities of all sorts of "appeasers", capitulators, and provocateurs. The Chinese Government, nevertheless, does not exert firmness in overcoming the activities of the capitulators, designed to undermine national unity and weaken China's resistance against Japanese aggression.

With inexhaustible strategic and raw material resources and tremendous manpower reserves at its disposal, China has every possibility for victory over the enemy. The necessary conditions for this victory are the realization of radical measures for the entire economy on a war footing, subordinating all economic life to the needs of the front and strengthening the armed forces against capitulation and defeatist moods, and most important, the genuine unity of all national forces in the struggle for freedom and national independence. On the extent to which Chiang Kai-shek and the Chungking leading circles will understand the importance of this principal condition and succeed in averting the danger of internal struggle in China, tortured by the enemies of the Chinese people—the inevitable consequence of which would be measures directed against the Eighth and Fourth Armies and the Communist party—rests whether the exhausting war forced upon the Chinese people by Japanese imperialism will be brought to a successful conclusion in the interests of the whole Chinese people.

See O.W.I. report on p. 79

NEW MASSES—August 24, 1943, page 11  
"The Crisis in China" by F. V. Field

"The symbol of this unity was the working arrangement forged between the Kuomintang and Communist Parties in 1937, which reached its high point in 1938 but since has been violated several times by defeatists in Chungking. Today that working arrangement has reached its lowest point, if indeed it can be said to exist at all any more."

"During the last few weeks a number of articles have suddenly appeared that completely lift a veil which had been carefully drawn out of deep respect for a valiant ally and from a hope that China would soon clean its own house. Pearl Buck has written 'A Warning about China' in Life Magazine.

T.A. Bisson of I.P.R.  
(see p. 24)

Y.Y. Hsu of I.P.R.  
(see p. 22)

L.K. Rosinger of F.P.A.,  
Co-incidentally in Russia  
(see p. 71)

See "PLOT" of 1941 p. 60

Another discovery  
No War Profiteers?

Sumner Welles was wrong

1941 PLOT (p. 60)  
Secret ultimatum

Rejected

Soviet Union + U.S.  
authorities

Treachery in Chinese Govt  
(as in 1941)

Trip through Communist  
China  
(see following clipping  
next page)

American missionary, Creighton Lacy, has posed the question in his book 'Is China A Democracy.' The well-known Far Eastern expert, T. A. Bisson, has stated the issues sharply in the Far Eastern Survey published by the research organization, the Institute of Pacific Relations. Bisson's charges have been thoroughly documented by Y. Y. Hsu in the summer quarterly issue of Amerasia. And the Foreign Policy Association's Far Eastern Expert, Lawrence K. Rosinger, has published the first of a series of articles on the subject in that organization's weekly Bulletin. Of signal importance, because its publication indicates the seriousness with which the Soviet Union views the situation, is the appearance of a timely article by Vladimir Rogov in the Soviet trade union periodical, *The War and The Working Class*, warning of the danger of appeaser forces in China. Excerpts from this article have appeared in leading American newspapers; the full text may be found in the Aug. 12 issue of the Daily Worker.

Pointing out that the Japanese have renewed their efforts to capitalize on the divisions within China, Rogov writes: "These Japanese plans profit from the maneuvers of the Chinese 'appeasers' who provoke conflicts and incidents up to armed clashes; do their utmost to undermine military collaboration of Kuomintang circles with the Communist Party, and incite the persecution and rout of the 8th and 4th Armies." He further points out that China has failed to undertake large economic construction for the war because "the industrial and financial circles prefer to engage in profiteering rather than invest their capital in the armaments industry."

"The most recent events fully substantiate the wisdom of bringing the situation out in the open. It is known that new Kuomintang divisions equipped with the best war material available to Chinese troops have been despatched to reinforce the already heavily manned blockade of the Border Region from which the Communist forces operate. No doubt if the appeasers have their way these troops will do more than strengthen the already notorious blockade, they will undertake military action against the 8th and 4th Armies. Chiang Kai Shek is reliably reported to have issued an ultimatum to the Communist representatives in Chungking demanding the virtual dissolution of the Communist-led armies and a further territorial reduction of the Border Region. Acceptance of such demands would be tantamount to surrendering China's war effort lock stock and barrel, to the appeasers. Needless to say the ultimatum has been rejected."

"It is clear that the danger of civil war is great—nothing else explains the outspoken character of the Rogov article and the wide publicity given it. It is also clear that the analysis of China's internal crisis made simultaneously in the Soviet Union and by so many outstanding authorities in the U.S.A. itself serves as a deterrent." "That factor" (the Chinese peoples' desire for unity and victory) "must be given every conceivable assistance so that again it may overcome the treacherous elements which so tragically remain in positions of authority."  
F. V. F.

NEW MASSES—Aug. 31, 1943, page 15

"With China's Guerrillas"

"A first hand description of the extraordinary 18th Group Army of the Chinese Border Region by Lt. George Uhlmann. Soldiers who get their weapons from the enemy."

"Next morning, only 30 hours after leaving Peiping; I saw men in uniform coming toward me. I was sure I was being taken prisoner until I saw, as they came nearer, the sun emblem of the Kuomintang forces glinting on their caps."

"Thanks to the guerrillas, I did not see a single Japanese during my trip, except for prisoners of war, although they were often very near. The Japanese usually hold the cities, and the guerrillas the countryside."

Since guerillas hold only the agricultural areas where little mining and no industry exist, Japanese campaigns are really punitive expeditions intended to terrorize farmers and prevent guerillas from consolidating their positions. The Japanese prefer to put up with temporary disruption of communication lines rather than maintain costly garrisons.

50,000 Jap prisoners  
(see p. 68)

Yenan has Ho Ying Chin's  
number

Soldiers pay \$1.00 (p. 57)

Statement made in N.Y.  
Non-political trip from  
Peking to Chungking

Henry Wallace's  
contribution

Communists desire to  
collaborate with non-  
Communists everywhere

I expected that enemy prisoners would be well treated. They are well fed and better clothed than guerrilla soldiers. I saw them taking part in sports. They played football with Gen. Nieh's officers and soldiers. Before leaving Yenan I had a talk with an American doctor there about guerrilla area relations with the Kuomintang. He laid the blame for tense relations on the local authorities in Sian and the War Minister Gen. Ho Ying Ching, who was described in Yenan as belonging to the 'peace at any price' faction. Chungking is also charged with failure to strive seriously to give China a democratic government guided by popular representation.

The Chinese National flag and the blue Kuomintang banner were hung everywhere. Chungking publications circulated freely. At Fu Ping we met the Kuomintang representative in the Shansi-Hopei-Chahar Border government and talked freely with him. Later we found that Kuomintang members participate in the administration of all sizeable villages which we passed through.

During our stops on the trip through the Border Region, we were visited by the authorities, student association representatives and journalists. Receptions were prepared for us. At Yenan we were accommodated at the Government guest house and given \$300 a day for expenses. But when we left the Border Area and reached Sian, we were immediately put under arrest simply because we had passed through the region. When we tried to leave, we were roughly handled. Our efforts to contact the Fighting French delegation in Chungking were obstructed. Even in Chungking we were detained for a short time before we were finally set free."

Statement made by a Chinese scientist:

"I left Peking March 16, 1944, by train, proceeding to Hsuechow, where I changed trains taking the Lunghai Railway to Kweichow, from here I travelled by ricksha to Pochow.

The trip was over Japanese occupied railways. It was made by purchasing tickets and accomplished without incident.

While on this trip, I saw no evidence of fighting and there were not very many Japanese troops to be observed either on the train or along the railway. At Hsuechow I saw some Japanese wounded soldiers being transported to the rear.

Leaving Pochow by ricksha-cart (seat is removed and replaced by planks about 6 ft. in length), we went through the lines early in the morning before the Japanese patrol came out, reaching Chesho in Free China.

From there we proceeded by truck to Loyang and then by train to Paochi. From there, we proceeded by bus to Chungking."

THE COMMUNIST—November 1943, page 964

"On the 26th Anniversary of Soviet Power and the 10th Anniversary of Soviet American Relations" by Earl Browder

"Henry A. Wallace made a great contribution to the consolidation of this alliance (Soviet and American) when in his speech of Nov. 7, 1942, he gave recognition to the rise of the Soviet Power as one of the great landmarks of human progress, of the 'people's Revolution,' along with the American Revolution of 1776, the Great French Revolution, the Bolivarian period of the liberation of Latin America, the European revolutions of 1848 and the American Civil War."

"Wallace's tracing of the common 'family tree' of the Russian and American revolutions, now accepted by the great body of American public opinion, was a smashing blow against the anti-Sovietism and anti-Communism which had so long bedeviled American foreign relations and prevented our country from using its power to hold back the world from its disastrous plunge into war."

"The key to the next stage of world development is the collaboration of non-Communists with Communists in the international field and within each nation."

"All the News that's fit  
to print"

Inside dope on Teheran

Everything fixed at  
Teheran

National Unity to put  
over Teheran perspectives

No abandonment of Socialism  
Press incorrect.

Atlantic Charter in Poland

93% vote (China only 90%  
see P.  
(U.S.A only 62 1/2%)

General Stilwell speaks

Henry Wallace 3-day task  
in Chungking

Are we backing the  
wrong horse in China?

NEW MASSES—January 11, 1944, page 23

"I give you my Word—by Jos. North (Editor)"

"The Daily Worker confirms my belief that journalism can be magnificent. It was my privilege to work for a number of years on its staff. Art Young, that incomparable journalist, said the day he died that he got his facts and got them straight—by reading the Daily Worker every day."

NEW MASSES—January 25, 1944

"Questions and answers on Earl Browder's report on Teheran and the Future."

"Question—Isn't the effort to avert civil war and revolution after the Global War is over an abandonment of Communist principles?"

"The use of force is not and never was a communist principle. Likewise, the abstention from force is not and never was a Communist principle."

"The Teheran declaration makes possible a peaceful solution of all internal problems of the European countries without a resort to civil war—a solution that heretofore had been practically impossible on the Continent for the past century."

Question—Why does this perspective require the change of the name of the Communist Party?

'Our postwar plan,' Earl Browder said, 'is national unity for the realization of the perspectives laid down in Teheran.'

They project this change in name for the consideration of their members . . . at their national convention in May. It should be noted, however, that this is not a proposal to dissolve the Communist organization, as some erroneously believe, but rather to enhance its practical effectiveness.

Question: Does the policy adopted by the national convention of the Communist Party mean an abandonment of the ultimate objective of Socialism?

Answer: Contrary to press reports—no."

NEW MASSES—March 7, 1944, page 4

"Behind the Polish Problem by Nicolai Baltisky"

(Moscow, via Inter-Continent News)

(Abridged from 'War and the Working Class')

"In vain have the Polish reactionaries tried to prove that in 1939 the Red Army allegedly forced upon the people of the Western Ukraine and Western Byelorussia the decision to join the Soviet Union.

93% of the electorate participated in the election of the Peoples Assembly of Western Ukraine (4,433,997 out of a total of 4,766,275); and in Western Byelorussia, 2,672,280 out of a total of 2,763,191). The deputies elected unanimously decided to petition the Supreme Soviet to incorporate their territories into the U.S.S.R."

A.P. interview with Stilwell, May 2, 1944

"We've come far enough though to know we are right about some things. We know the Chinese soldier can take the Jap if he has a decent chance."

NEW MASSES—July 4, 1944, page 15

"NM Spotlight—Mr. Wallace's Mission"

"Ironically enough he (Mr. Wallace) was feted, shortly after his arrival, by Ho Ying Ching, the Minister of War and Chief of Staff, who is widely believed to be more interested in warring against the Chinese Communists than against the Japanese fascists. An important part of the Vice-President's mission was to encourage the emergence of a new and vigorous leadership in China politically equipped to carry forward the war against Japan jointly with the other members of the United Nations.

He has undoubtedly conveyed our Government's conviction that without the achievement of national unity within China all the league lend in the world is not going to make China a free nation."

Browder speaks for American People

THE COMMUNIST—July 1944, page 663  
 "Resolutions adopted by the National Convention of the Communist Political Association"  
 "China. The American people view with grave concern the continuation of internal discord and disunity within China fostered by pro-Japanese anti-United Nations elements in the Kuomintang, etc., etc."  
 "3. The so-called Pacific Firsters, led by Hearst and other pro-fascists in this country, play directly into the hands of the divisive pro-Axis gang in Chungking. Only when the continent of Europe has been purged of Hitlerism will it be possible to come to the full aid of China in ridding the world of the rapacious Japanese imperialist.  
 "4. The American people and their Government must exercise their influence on behalf of the Chinese people in their struggle for national unity and independence. To this end we recommend the establishment of American military and consular representation in the Northwest Border regions.  
 "5. America should coordinate its military efforts more fully with those of China and augment lend lease aid to China ensuring adequate supplies to the 8th Route Army."

Change horses in China

Report exposes "Filthy Lie"

to lie

# Today's Guest Column

Daily Worker—June 17, 1949

By Frederick V. Field

## Chinese Communist Army Said to Refuse to Fight

1944  
 By The United Press.  
 CHUNGKING, China, June 28  
 —The Chinese Communist Army has ignored an order from Gen.issimo Chiang Kai-shek to fight the Japanese, Minister of Information Liang Han-chao disclosed today.

Friction has long existed between the Central Chinese Government and the Communists, who control most of Shensi Province. The Communists charge that they are being persecuted by Chungking and, in turn, have now been accused of autonomous conduct.

Mr. Liang said that during the campaign in Shensi Province last year Communist troops in some areas had been ordered by the Central Government to take "voluntary" actions against the Japanese, but had not taken any action.

MY PURPOSE in this week's column is to nail a filthy lie. Not that any reasonable person believes the lie, but forthcoming events make it imperative that we have accurate information upon which to base our political perspective.

About 10 days ago a party of foreign correspondents, after months of delay, finally reached Yennan, capital of that part of China which is under Communist leadership. They have done a commendable job in conveying the truth about China in their stories. En route they had had an interview at Sian with Maj.



Gen. Lotaekai Otsukai, chief of staff of the local Kuomintang military head, Gen. Hu Chung-nan. Otsukai, "who assured the newsmen he spoke in Gen. Hu's name, declared flatly that the Eighth Route (Communist) Army had never fought the Japanese since the war began, that they had done nothing except impede the attack of the central government troops." The quotes are from Brooks Atkinson's dispatch in the New York Times.

August, 1940—Book published in Chungking  
 Statement by Wang Chia-Hsiang, chief political Commissar of the 8th Route Army, entitled "The Three Peoples Principles and Communism" published in Chungking, August 1940, as follows: "The Chinese communists are forever the disciples of Marxist Communism, of the principles of Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin. They will never, under any circumstances, give up the ideal of Communism or the theory of Marxism-Leninism."

# THE COMMUNIST

A MARXIST MAGAZINE DEVOTED TO ADVANCEMENT OF DEMOCRATIC THOUGHT AND ACTION

EARL BROWDER, Editor

EUGENE DENNIS, Associate Editor

V. J. JEROME, Managing Editor

## CHINA'S REAL DESTINY

BY FREDERICK V. FIELD

[We are pleased to present to our readers the following article written by an authority on Far Eastern Affairs, formerly Secretary of the American Council, Institute of Pacific Relations, and at present a member of its Executive Board. Mr. Field is the author of two volumes and many articles on the Far East.—The Editors.]

Pursuing this point a further step, consider the relation of the future Chinese economy to American jobs. In *Teheran—Our Path in War and Peace*, Earl Browder writes:

"It is a demonstrable fact that the economic policies characteristic of 'Kuomintang' China today are operating to defeat America's interest in an expanding Chinese market, while the economic policies of 'Communist' China are those most favorable and conducive to an expanding market. The anti-democratic, authoritarian internal regime of 'Kuomintang' China is based upon economic policies which cultivate landlordism, speculation, market monopoly, usury, and all sorts of profit-seeking not through expanding the economy but by parasitically preying upon economy. The democratic internal regime of the Northwest Border Region, the so-called 'Communist' China, is based upon economic policies which limit and reduce landlord exploitation, prohibit speculative hoarding and 'cornering of markets,' give free play to economic enterprise in productive fields, defeat usurious practices, and encourage profit-seeking only through the expansion of production and in forms which raise the economic level of the entire community" (p. 48-49).

Mr. Browder asks: "Is this, then, in reality a 'purely domestic issue' of China, toward which America is not entitled to have a policy?"

The relationship of forces in this reactionary economy has been ably set forth by the Chinese scholar Hsu Yung-ying, now associated with the Institute of Pacific Relations. Writing in the summer issue, 1943, of the magazine *Amerasia* Dr. Hsu said:

"... the body economic of China has been traditionally dominated by landlords and bureaucrats, who live off the people, mainly the farmers, but have no moral obligation to participate in production. The bureaucracy itself, moreover, is merely a form and creature of landlordism. Since landlordism is too nakedly exposed to the discontent of the peasants, the bureaucracy lives upon collective land rent in the form of taxes and thus serves to cloak the ugly appearance of landlord parasitism. It constitutes a sort of communal landlordism, which is also enabled to mobilize greater political and military power for the suppression of mass discontent."

Official expression to the aspirations of the reactionaries has been given by no less a person than the President of China, Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, in a volume entitled *China's Destiny*, which appeared under his authorship early in 1943. The most notable analysis of *China's Destiny* appeared in the January, 1944, issue of this magazine in the translation of a brilliant criticism published in Yen-an by the Chinese Communist leader Chen Paila.

A limited amount of Chinese material from Yen-an has found its way through the Kuomintang censorship.

In this connection it is well to pay heed to the words of Earl Browder in *Teheran—Our Path in War and Peace*:

"If we would begin to apply the principles of the Teheran concord to the Far East, as eventually we must, we would save the lives of untold numbers of American boys and bring victory much quicker. We would establish American military and consular representation in the China Northwest Autonomous Border Region; we would insure that a share of American lend-lease aid, proportionate to their share of the fighting, reached those armies; we would urge, in the spirit of Teheran and the Atlantic Charter, the Chungking regime to respond to the oft-repeated appeals that have come from the Chinese Communist leaders for national unity and the beginnings of a democratic regime.

"The Teheran concord is already in the process of solving the many stubborn problems of Europe which are, in essence, of the same nature as the problem of China."

The guiding principles of our war policy can be simply expressed: we must give material aid to those who are actively engaged or who wish to be actively engaged in destroying the enemy, and we must politically influence the Chinese government to rid itself of treacherous elements

and put an end to the scandalous situation which has its most notorious expression in the blockade of the northern guerrilla areas.

The Communist  
line on China  
as of Sept. 1944



(this page from N.Y. Times during 1942)

### WILLKIE ASKS AID FOR CHINESE NOW

Action Rather Than Words Is Needed, He Says in Surprise Speech in Town Hall

### MORE BOMBERS AT ONCE

Mayor Scores Our 'Stupidity' in Not Recognizing Aims of Japan Aggression

Wendell L. Willkie, in a surprise appearance last night at a China Resistance Day Rally at Town Hall, told 1,000 persons he regretted that this country had been giving China more words than action and that he hoped by the next anniversary of the outbreak between China and Japan five years ago the situation would be the other way around.

Introduced by Clare Boothe, the 1936 Republican Presidential candidate began:

"I have a notion that in the last few weeks we have been 'saving China' largely with words. I'd feel much more like participating in this rally tonight if I knew that my own government was participating more actively in helping China.

"The only reason I came here was to add what little weight I may have to stirring up some agitation to get some more bombers for China."

### 'No Inconsistency in Stand.'

After the applause, Mr. Willkie went on to say that no one appreciated more fully than he the "necessity for the crushing of Hitler." Moreover, he went on, he felt he had made that appreciation clear by the number of speeches he had made along those lines.

"But I see no inconsistency," he continued, "in crushing Hitler and in saving some of the materials rolling off our assembly lines to send to those fighting Chinese."

### U.S. ARMY AND NAVY PLEDGE CHINA HELP

WASHINGTON, July 7—The first Order of the Day to be issued by the Secretaries of War and Navy since Dec. 7 today paid special tribute to the Chinese on the fifth anniversary of their resistance against the Japanese aggression and pledged "firm determination to expel the aggressor from every foot of Chinese soil."

The Order of the Day, read to all members of the armed forces on land and at sea, follows:

To the Armed Forces:

Five years ago today the Imperial Japanese Government launched a brutal and unprovoked attack on the people of China.

Lacking adequate arms and other equipment, the leaders of China have nevertheless continued their gallant resistance for five years. Today they are fighting with a tenacity and courage which are an inspiration for all defenders of democracy on every front.

Today the members of the Army and Navy of the United States salute their comrades-in-arms in China and join with them in the firm determination to expel the aggressor from every foot of Chinese soil.

HENRY L. STIMSON,  
Secretary of War.  
FRANK KNOX,  
Secretary of the Navy.

*14. Times  
July 8/42*

Bomb-wrecked Chungking observed the war anniversary with a mass meeting of 20,000 persons, over which War Minister General Ho Ying-chin presided. Flags were flown all over the city and great crowds gathered in front of huge portraits of President Roosevelt, British Prime Minister Winston Churchill, Russian Premier Joseph Stalin, and Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek.

The Chinese Communist party, in an anniversary manifesto, pledged cooperation with General Chiang's Kuomintang, Nationalist party, not only during the war but also in the post-war reconstruction. It said it was prepared to discuss with the Kuomintang and settle all disputes and problems.

### Russians Praise China

MOSCOW, July 7 (AP)—The Soviet press praised China's "pau-

recious and heroic struggle for national liberation" today as the Chinese-Japanese war entered its sixth year.

"Japan expected through Blitz operations to end this war in a very short period," the army newspaper Red Star said. "Time has proved the lack of foundation and the error of this expectation. Not a single operation by Japanese troops has brought defeat to the main force of the Chinese Army."

Other newspapers said that despite setbacks at the hands of the better-equipped Japanese, Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek's forces had increased their resistance and were unshaken as ever in their will to victory.

### China to Distribute Pledge

CHUNGKING, July 7 (AP)—Copies of the American Army-Navy Order of the Day, promising China that the United States will fight until the Japanese are expelled "from every foot of Chinese soil" will be sent to all Chinese front-line reserve units, it was understood today.

Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek is reported to have ordered that copies of the American declaration be printed. It would be the first time in history that a foreign Order of the Day has been sent to Chinese armed forces.

By A.P. in Herald Tribune—Dec. 19, 1943

Interview with Chennault on Rice Bowl Battle

"The Chinese Air Force gave an excellent account of itself in the campaign. One morning over Changteh Chinese pilots shot down 4 Jap planes. Considering the limited number of planes available, the Chinese probably achieved better results, plane for plane and pilot for pilot, than the 14th Air Force."

**OWI FINDS CHINA  
FACES GRIM FIGHT**

Agency Reviews Situation as War Enters 7th Year With Setbacks for Japanese

**DOMESTIC OUTPUT GAINS**

Survey Also Shows Spread of Democracy—Kung Insists Finances Are Sound

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WASHINGTON, July 5—Although Japan has been set back by military defeats as the seventh year of the Sino-Japanese war begins, China, which had to fight during the past year with "considerably less material aid" from the outside world than at any time during the past six years, still faces "tremendous difficulties" in her struggle for victory, the Office of War Information stated today.

"With all roads from her allies cut off, except for an airplane route, China has been forced to increase her production of war materials, manufactured goods and of farm produce," the OWI noted in a statement for release on the eve of the anniversary of the Sino-Japanese war, which began July 7, 1937.

Surveying China's contribution to the United Nations, the agency noted that "despite these increased handicaps, China began the year and ended the year with victories at the front."

**Finds Democracy Spreading**

The OWI hailed the fact that "during the past year political democracy has been spread rapidly through the country by the establishment of the new county, or Hsien, system, which gives the Chinese people the right to elect representatives to newly created political and governmental bodies." People's Political Councils, which OWI described as "forerunners of State Legislatures," are coming into being.

Chinese Government enterprises completed between 60 and 80 per cent of their 1942 production schedule, OWI reported. Gasoline

**West Hupeh Front Is Quiet**

By BROOKS ATKINSON

By Wireless to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

ON THE UPPER YANGTZE FRONT, June 22 (Delayed)—Less than three weeks ago the deep gulches of this turbulent range of mountains were swarming with Japanese soldiers. The air was whinnying and the earth was trembling during attacks by Japanese bombers and lighter planes.

As we climbed from our train this morning to a hill at Yachiapo, where the Chinese advanced post is located in the West Hupeh battle, we passed graves of Chinese soldiers beside the blackened ruins of farmhouses the Japanese burned as they retreated. Through the humid summer haze we could see Ichang, where the Japanese are based again behind formidable defenses.

There were empty cartridges in the grass around us; there were gashes in the ground where bombs and shells fell from the sky. Such things one looks at incredulously, for after the malevolent interlude this country has resumed its normal function of growing crops.

None knows how many dead the Japanese cremated or how many Chinese soldiers were laid in graves. The carnage must have been terrible but three weeks is a long time to stifle living and creation.

General Chen Cheng, commander in chief in the Hupeh-Hunan war area, was in good spirits when a group of correspondents visited him at his secluded headquarters in Enshi two days ago. He said the Japanese were preparing for a single-handed war to preserve the status quo in the Pacific because Germany and Italy were losing control of their end of the Axis.

To protect their rear in the Pacific war he said the Japanese must finish the war in China by aiming at an invasion of Chungking.

CHUNGKING, China, June 28

(AP)—The possibility of a fresh Japanese drive in western Hupeh, gateway to Chungking, was reported by Chinese military authorities today on the basis of intelligence information.

"Judging by the huge force the Japanese concentrated at Shihpai the enemy's final objective was Chungking," the general declared.

Although the enemy got within sight of the strategic river port of Kantowping, which his time table required him to take May 31, he failed for a number of reasons listed by General Chen: the cooperation of adjacent war areas, which started rushing up reinforcements at the end of April, the cooperation of the American and Chinese Air Forces and the defection of some Chinese puppet troops, who killed the commander and brought valuable maps and papers to the Chinese side.

Responding to a question on what was necessary to drive the Japanese from China, General Chen said:

"China has fought nearly six years purely on morale. It was obvious in the Hupeh battle that we need guns and equipment of all kinds. As to the amount, I should like to say facetiously that we do not expect to get 1 per cent of America's vast industrial capacity, but we would be glad to get even one-thousandth part of 1 per cent."

CHUNGKING, China, July 5 (AP)

On Wednesday China will observe the "Double Seventh," the seventh day of the seventh month, when Japan struck six years ago. The approach of the anniversary brought confident statements from many of China's leaders.

General Ho Ying-chin, War Minister and Army Chief of Staff, said "extermination of Japan as a military power" was entirely assured and estimated Japanese casualties at 3,000,000, including losses inflicted by United States and British forces. Japan, he said, is facing an acute manpower shortage, is weaker in sea strength, out-matched in the air, short of material resources and running into food difficulties.

Sun Fo, President of the Legislative Yuan, suggested destruction of the Japanese military machine by shooting all Japanese officers above the rank of major general, internment or imprisoning for life all above the rank of lieutenant and sentencing all noncommissioned officers to exile and hard labor.

O.W.I. gives lie to campaign starting few days later in Communist Press, I.P.R., F.P.A. + Russia. (See p. 72-73)

# Common Sense

VOL. XIII

August 1944

No. 8

Our Last Chance in China . . . Pearl S. Buck 265

**W**E HAVE NOW solidly laid the foundations for future wars in Asia. One fears it still more in the deep

and increasing anger now rising against us in China. Only fools or the most ignorant of people—God keep us from being either—could ignore this anger. Young journalists, inexperienced and without historical perspectives, judged a country thousands of years old by young American standards. China began to be condemned. Then condemnation could not proceed swiftly enough. Indeed, it was to the interest of those who were guiding our American foreign policies to encourage this condemnation.

**IS CHINA GOING FASCIST?** No, there has never been any real danger of China's going fascist and there is none now.

It is true that Generalissimo Chiang Kai-Shek is the non-elected head of the Chinese nation.

he has been the only man who could have led China during this war, in exactly the same sense that Stalin has been the man of the hour for Russia and Churchill the man of the hour for England, if not for India.

But Chiang Kai-shek is not a fascist.

He is not a world mind, any more than the others are. He is as passionately Chinese as Churchill is English, and has had the same tendency, only in lesser degree, to arrogance and having his own way. He is, however, a man of the lower middle classes, and not an aristocrat, and he has no feeling of superior class. In this he is more comparable to Stalin than to Churchill. Roosevelt and Churchill are alike, and Stalin and Chiang Kai-shek. Some day an interesting study could be made of the curious similarities between these four men who today rule the world. For in spite of the present fashion in America to sneer at Chiang Kai-shek and to speak of his decreasing influence, let us not be so foolish as to think that his power in China is really decreasing because of what some young American commentators are saying and writing. In the hearts of the Chinese, Chiang Kai-shek remains what he has always been since he assumed leadership, and the contempt with which he has been treated in Washington throughout this war does not weaken his position in China—rather, it strengthens it.

## PEARL BUCK SPEAKS

80.  
**OUT** against all the British propaganda against China in "The Communist" "New Masses" I.P.R., F.P.A., P.M. "DAILY WORKER"

**CAN THE MEN** around Chiang Kai-shek drive him to fascism? No, for they are not strong enough and the forces of democracy in the Chinese people are too strong.

Can China achieve democracy under Chiang Kai-shek? Yes. He will lead the people to democracy if democracy is what they insist upon, for he will lead them, at all costs. In this he is more like Roosevelt than Stalin.

**WILL CHINA GO COMMUNIST?** Not if the Chinese people can help it, and they can. Non-communist Chinese today, those who are liberal as well as those less liberal, are determined that their country shall not be split, especially when one of the parts would owe its allegiance to Russia rather than to China. It is not a question with most Chinese as to whether the Communists are right or wrong or whether Chiang Kai-shek is right or wrong—it is that they will not tolerate two armies, two separate governments, two states; and between the Communist state and the Nationalist state, they feel that at least the Nationalist is Chinese and not linked with a foreign power. They feel that there is some hope of correcting the faults of the government that is their own and none whatever of correcting the faults of one that is not Chinese.

When we consider how dictatorial the powers become in any government during war the wonder is not that the Chinese government is so dictatorial, but that it is not more so. Certainly Chiang Kai-shek is less dictatorial, generally speaking, in his powers than Roosevelt, Churchill or Stalin.

Added to all else now is the heap of rash criticism which magazines and newspaper writers are hastening to put out as the latest thing on China. Where is our much vaunted friendship for China that we accept this sort of thing so easily, with so little search for the truth? Most of all, where is our practical common sense that we do not see the danger to ourselves of alienating China from us, as we fall into the well-oiled traps of propaganda for continuing the white man's rule in Asia?

The great division between England and ourselves in Asia is that we have until now wanted a strong China and a weak Japan, whereas England wants a weak China, and inevitably a strong Japan. But why not be American?

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# VISITOR FROM MARS amerasia

A Fortnightly Review of America and Asia

EDITED BY: PHILIP J. JAFFE AND KATE L. MITCHELL

Vol. 8, No. 14 — July, 1944

Another visitor to Yen-an is Susumu Okano, well-known Japanese communist, who recently organized the Japanese People's Liberation Alliance—an anti-militarist organization composed of Japanese war prisoners, deserters, and volunteers. Japanese prisoners in Yen-an are not confined in prison camps but are taught that by aiding the Chinese guerrillas they are helping to liberate Japan from the militarists and relieve the Japanese people of the burdens of war. Okano may

yet prove to be the potential Tito of Japan. His manifesto to the Japanese people is not an appeal for communism, but is designed to enlist all the popular forces of Japan against their military-fascist rulers in order to establish a representative form of government. In this sense, his program parallels that of Marshal Tito in Yugoslavia, which both Britain and America have now accepted. Given aid and encouragement, Okano's organization could well play an important role when the time comes for the Allies to occupy the Japanese mainland and help the Japanese people to establish a government that will discard the aggressive aims of the present ruling oligarchy.

Contemporary China: Published by Chinese News Service,

In the course of this discussion we have thought of a basic question: Will the Chinese Communist party cease to be a Communist party—as an orthodox Marxist and Leninist party? Will it perhaps transform itself into a Farm and Labor party?

The Soviet Union has recently revised the basic dogmas of Marxism and Leninism. The American Communist party has already dissolved itself and the British Communists have expressed the desire to join the rank and file of the Labor party. Will the Chinese Communists remain orthodox Marxists and Leninists?

In view of these developments in the West, where Marxism and Leninism originated, it would seem strange indeed if the Chinese Communists should blindly follow the doctrines of Marx and Lenin.

If we may be bold, we should like to suggest that the Chinese Communist party transform itself into a Farm and Labor party!

## The Answer to Party Conflict

An ultimate solution of the Communist problem in China lies in the establishment of a constitutional government, declared Ta Kung Pao, leading independent newspaper in Chungking, in an editorial on August 5, 1944. A translation of the editorial follows:

"The press party to the northwest was arranged mainly at the request of foreign correspondents in Chungking who wanted to see Yen-an. Chinese pressmen including a representative of this paper also went. During their 43-day stay in northern Shensi, it was quite impossible for them to see everything and the picture they got is at best a hurried one. Furthermore, what has been printed

It is most striking that behind all the activities seen at Yen-an the Communist party is the motivating party. This bespeaks the omnipotence of the party and the Communists are particularly insistent on vesting their party with almost carte blanche powers over all political and military affairs. From the standpoint of the Communists themselves who naturally hold the interest of their party dearer than anything else, there seems to be nothing open to criticism. But from a standpoint of a democracy-loving citizen of the nation, one cannot help feeling that there is something wrong somewhere in the state of affairs existing in Yen-an.

"China today is a united nation, simply because she must be a united nation if she wants to succeed in her revolution, in her resistance, and in her national reconstruction. For the sake of these important interests of the nation, we have no other alternative than wholeheartedly to support national unity and strongly to oppose any split. The National Government and President Chiang Kai-shek constitute the pivot of this essential national unity. This pivot should be most precious to every Chinese citizen because it was achieved through a bitter struggle of more than thirty years and through much bloodshed on the part of the Chinese people. Purely in the interests of the nation, we as common citizens cannot but do our honest best to uphold this pivot and try to strengthen it in the hope that China may soon win victory in her resistance and succeed in her national reconstruction.

SEATTLE, July 9 (UP).—Text of Vice-President Henry Wallace's report on his visit to China.

China, with her 450 million people and her great resources, should sooner or later produce a large portion of her requirements in the way of heavy and light industrial goods and also consumer goods. But to modernize her industry and train her people China needs help. We have thousands of technical and business men in the United States who are able to furnish that help. But the business men in particular want to be sure of the thing. They want to be certain before they lay the foundations and make the necessary outlay that there is no foreseeable likelihood of conflict within China or between China and the U. S. A.

September 22, 1944

# Allied Aid too Little, Chinese Say Bitterly

By WALTER RUNDLE,  
United Press War Correspondent.

CHUNGKING, Oct. 2.—Chinese official spokesmen, stung by loss of the U. S. 14th Air Force's fourth major base in eastern China, charged bitterly today that the United States and Great Britain have failed to provide more than a pitiful amount of "token" assistance to China in the war against Japan.

Since Pearl Harbor, a spokesman for the Chinese Military Council said, the amount of American supplies delivered to the Chinese army "would not be sufficient to sustain a single British or American army division in combat for one week."

The statement was made in direct answer to Prime Minister Churchill's assertion in the House of Commons last week that China had suffered severe military reverses despite "lavish American help."

## U. S. Air Force Praised.

The spokesman asserted that the only real aid given the Chinese armies in eastern China came from the U. S. 14th Air Force, whose efforts he praised highly.

Even that air support, the spokesman charged, "was so small it would hardly be credited if it could be disclosed."

His words were pointed up by a 14th Air Force announcement that American airmen had abandoned their base at Tanchuk, in southeastern Kwangsi Province, after blowing up everything of military value that could not be removed.

The Chinese command, meanwhile announced extremely severe fighting today near Kweilin, locating the battle four to 12 miles southeast of the rail town of Hingan, 31 miles from the Kwangsi provincial capital, the Associated Press reported.

The American advanced base at Tanchuk was the fourth abandoned in face of the Jap offensive through Hunan and Kwangsi to split China in two.

The Chinese communique said Chinese forces near Paoching counterattacked and were said to have taken two Jap strongpoints.

## "Pitifully" Equipped.

The council spokesman said more than 10 Jap divisions had been thrown into the offensive against a "pitifully" equipped Chinese army, which had to accept "staggering losses" and fight with determination instead of firepower.

The situation in eastern China, he added, has been made worse by diversion of China's best-supplied troops to the Salween River front, where they were supporting the Burma campaign—in which Chinese troops also are playing a major role.

Mr. Alfred Kohlberg  
1 West 37th Street  
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Kohlberg:

Your letter of August 30 to the Honorable Harry L. Hopkins, has been referred to me for reply. Obviously, the details as to the exact type of military equipment furnished under lend-lease to Chinese troops and the disposition of this material is the kind of information that cannot be disclosed because of reasons of military secrecy. However, we can tell you in a general way that the conclusions reached by your informants are largely incorrect. Some of the outstanding examples of direct military aid to China are as follows:

(a) A substantial Chinese force was flown out from China and fully trained and equipped with American lend-lease arms in India. These are the troops which have so effectively waged the campaign in Northern Burma, culminating in the capture of Myitkyina. Following in their wake, one of the greatest engineering efforts in this war is driving through a new road for supplies to replace the old Burma Road.

(b) The performance of our air forces in solving the problem of air transport across the Hump which was at first believed impossible, is one of the outstanding achievements of the war and has been recognized by a Presidential citation of the Wing of the Air Transport Command which has done this job. I can assure you that this operation is as big as all of the United States airlines prior to this war and is considered to be over the most difficult route in the world. If it had not been for this aid, the extraordinarily successful efforts of General Chennault's 14th Air Force which has given China virtual freedom from bombing since they began their operations would not have been possible. Since the operations of the 14th Air Force were expanded, Chungking has not been bombed, a striking comparison when one recalls the slaughter caused by the Japs before. Whereas formerly the Jap air force roamed at will throughout China, today their operations are almost entirely nullified. For instance, in a recent attempt to raid the town of Kunming, out of twenty-five planes which attacked, practically the entire force was wiped out and no bombs were effectively dropped.

It is believed that the Chinese troops now defending Southeast China would long since have been completely defeated if it had not been for the efforts of the 14th Air Force.

(c) A substantial army of Chinese troops based in Western Yunan was re-trained and re-equipped by the American army with lend-lease material. This army is now fighting its way out in a westward direction along the old Burma Road to meet the incoming forces of General Stilwell and thus to complete a land route to China.

In considering the distribution of military and lend-lease supplies, it should be borne in mind constantly that General Stilwell holds the Office of Chief of Staff of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, and the Generalissimo has delegated to him rather broad discretion in the distribution of American lend-lease arms. Therefore, if there is any inference in your letter that deliveries of arms under General Stilwell's order are not deliveries to the Chinese themselves, I think that an understanding of this relationship will show that such is not the case.

(d) Prior to the beginning of lend-lease aid, the Chinese air force was practically non-existent. They had nothing but out-moded aircraft, their pilots' abilities were suffering from lack of airplanes and gasoline to keep up their training in modern methods of air fighting. Today, the Chinese air force itself has received substantial numbers of airplanes, a very large number of Chinese air cadets have been successfully trained for combat in our schools in the United States, and there has been created under General Chennault (who is concurrently Chief of Staff for Air for Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek) a Chinese-American composite Wing which is fighting alongside the 14th Air Force and which General Chennault reports is an excellent combat outfit. Their equipment is of course entirely American lend-lease.

The spokesman reminded Mr. Churchill that, while there was cause for pride in the British Indian army in Burma, "the forces in North Burma were chiefly contributed by China and commanded by Gen. Joseph W. Stilwell."

More than 50,000 Chinese already have been killed or wounded in North Burma, he added.

I have limited my reply to your questions as to direct military equipment, but no full picture should fail to include certain other outstanding instances of aid which have received less publicity. For instance, the internal transportation of China by truck and railroad had at one time almost stopped for lack of spare parts, tires, lubricants, and fuel. The American Government has supplied technicians and supplies in large quantities to rectify this situation. Many tons of vital spare parts were flown all the way from the United States to China to rehabilitate these trucks. In order to solve the fuel problem, we specially manufactured in this country some apparatus to burn charcoal to furnish the motive power for the trucks, and a large number of these are currently being flown into China.

Sincerely yours,

Leo T. Crowley,  
Administrator

## CHINA AT WAR

JULY, 1944

### *Eden Pledges Aid to China*

Mr. Anthony Eden, British Foreign Secretary, winding up the foreign debate in the House of Commons on May 25, said in reply to several questions on the Far East: "We are all conscious of the heavy burdens that China carries just now. China is in her eighth year of war. Her people have suffered greatly. Many of her cities have been destroyed. We have been unable to carry to her all the help we would like. It is only by remarkable and unique efforts by air in crossing the Himalayas that any assistance has reached her. Her ordeals have been long and stern.

"We pledge ourselves anew that we will not rest until Japan is defeated and China has had restored to her all her territories wrongfully seized. About supplies, in the main these have been for the United Air Force which has been built up in China and for the needs of the Chinese armies under General Stilwell. But whatever space is left over it is for the Chinese Government to say what priority they want for goods sent them. We all wish we could send more, but are sending already to the limit of our capacity.

### CENSORSHIP

#### Stilwell Took Leave of Chiang

The Associated Press said it had received the following dispatch last night from its Chungking correspondent:

"Chungking, Oct. 29—Stilwell is known to have taken formal leave of Chiang—

"Editor—American censor excised 388 words and Chinese censor 104 words, leaving only foregoing excerpt from one sentence."

## CHINA TRADE NEWS

AUGUST, 1944

### Habeas Corpus Act Approved

*Upon recommendation of President Chiang Kai-shek, a habeas corpus act, effective August 1, 1944, was approved by the Supreme Military Defense Council of China on July 18.*

# Generalissimo Chiang Refutes U.S. Rumors Of Personal Unfaithfulness, Official Laxity

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Shanghai Post-Mercury  
N.Y. Oct. 13, 1944

Shortly before Mme. Chiang Kalshek departed from Chungking on her present trip to the United States, Generalissimo Chiang and his wife met in Chungking with a group which included all the members of the Generalissimo's cabinet as well as a number of Americans. Among the latter were A. T. Steele, correspondent of the Chicago Daily News, and George A. Fitch, YMCA representative in China.

Speaking first, Generalissimo Chiang said that a number of rumors, which had evidently been circulating for some time, had only recently been brought to his attention. At first he thought it best to ignore them, he said. Then he realized that the rumors were directed against the nation more than just against himself. He felt that the enemy had failed in its attempt to destroy China and so it was now trying to discredit China. Therefore, he felt that he had to bring these stories into the light.

## Two Rumors Circulated

The first rumor was that he had been unfaithful to his wife, that he had had irregular relations with another woman, and that a child had been born to them. The second was that he had grown slack in his attention to the duties of state and was not attending his offices regularly.

As to the first, Generalissimo Chiang declared that his relations with his wife had been without stain, absolutely pure. As a Christian he had faithfully kept the Commandments. His record was an open book and everyone could check on his every movement. For the sake of the people he dared not do wrong. China, he said, is a weak nation; to achieve victory her only hope is in the moral rectitude of her leaders. There was nothing in his life that he could not tell publicly and he hoped his chief contribution to China's welfare would be a moral one.

## Complete Sincerity

As to the second rumor, the Generalissimo explained briefly how his fall during the period of Shan captivity (when he seriously injured his spine) still made it impossible for him to sit still for more than an hour or two. He then gave a sketch of his daily and weekly program which is known to be a very crowded one.

Mme. Chiang subsequently spoke along essentially the same line.

One American present at the meeting later declared that all in the group appeared to be convinced of the Generalissimo's complete

sincerity. He said it was not known in Chungking whether such rumors had been prevalent in America, but that they have been going the rounds in the Far East and those close to the Generalissimo have

felt that plain speaking was necessary to deal with them, although it was obviously difficult to find means of effectively squashing what was essentially a whispering campaign.

DREW PEARSON GETS IT FROM THE "EXPERTS"  
WASHINGTON

## MERRY-GO-ROUND

By Drew Pearson

(The author of this column is given the widest latitude. His views do not necessarily reflect those of The Mirror.)

WASHINGTON.—Vice President Wallace won't say, but from diplomatic reports and those who accompanied him, it seems China continues Allied Problem No. 1, tougher than we realize.

Millions of Chinese have never heard of its President, Chiang Kalshek. Many consider Madame Chiang an American upstart, educated in this country. The people of North China have to use pidgin English to converse with the people of South China. Chiang's first wife was Japanese, his son was educated in Germany.

So, here are facts Wallace (and the rest of us) have to face.

Strictest censorship in the world exists in China. U. S. newsmen are virtual prisoners.

U. S. relations with China were bad... U. S. Ambassador Clarence Gauss long was not received. Chiang was "busy."

Palace politics are intense. Chiang in the middle, control of China the stake. The war lords jockey for control... They don't like Madame—too pro-American... For a time, China was run by students who had studied in the U. S. on the Boxer indemnity educational fund... Now, the East is win-



MADAME CHIANG KALSHEK  
She is childless. Chiang is a monogamist.

ning over the West. Warlords are reverting China to type.

Madame Chiang has hard sledding. She is childless, sentiment is with the General when he goes to another wife... Madame Chiang is his third and, for a time, Chiang went back to No. 2. That was one reason she came to the U. S. ... Now there is talk of a girl, 16, in the palace, the niece of a war lord who wants to get Chiang away from American ideas.

American munitions were chief weapon of Madame. She was expected to deliver. For a while she did deliver. Then we woke up to the fact that U. S. weapons were used not against the Japs, but against the Chinese fighting the Japs... This is the so-called Communist Army.

Chinese war lords are concerned over Allied victories in the Pacific. The war is getting close to them... Many, educated at Japan's West Point, would prefer first to fight the Russians, second the British, third the U. S. East of all the Japs... When Wendell Willkie was in China, he had difficulty getting to the front. The General put him on his private train, sent him to the front. Last lap was a hand car. He was greeted with thousands of little paper American flags which Chinese troops got from nowhere. On the Jap side was a big sign, "Welcome Willkie"... There wasn't much fighting.

THE REAL PEOPLE OF CHINA can fight—when they are fed. Chinese troops are never fed, must forage and loot. Gen. Chenault's job is organizing them. Chief U. S. problem is to reach the people.

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July 10, 1944

CHUNGKING, China, Oct. 11 (AP)

Dr. P. H. Chang, Chungking Government spokesman, at a press conference today denied reports that Chinese forces had refused to accept training by United States Army liaison groups and attributed Chinese reverses in central and eastern China during the past six months mainly to lack of tanks, anti-tank guns and heavy artillery.

Dr. Chang said that American lend-lease supplies reaching Chinese armies on the eastern and southern fronts from the beginning of the war up to the end of May this year totaled only fifty anti-tank guns, sixty artillery pieces and 30,000,000 rounds of rifle and machine gun ammunition.

The Chinese defeats in Honan were directly a result of the lack of tanks and anti-tank guns, while Hengyang in Hunan fell mainly because of a lack of heavy artillery, he said.

While the Chinese appreciate the transportation difficulties involved in getting supplies to Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek's armies, they still feel that the amount of war materials received has been "very limited," he added.

### RUSSIAN PAPER TAKES SHARP BLOW AT JAPAN

#### Says She Hoped to Capture Territory of U. S. S. R.

By Wireless to The New York Times

MOSCOW, June 19 — A sharply worded article in *War and the Working Class* declared today that Japanese imperialists had "deliriously" cast an acquisitive eye on Russia's Far Eastern territory when they thought that their alliance with Germany would lead to victory instead of the defeat that is now inevitable.

It was one of the most outspoken articles that has yet appeared in a Russian publication concerning Japan, with which Russia is not at war and with which she has a neutrality pact signed a few weeks before the German invasion of Russia. The article, by K. Popoff, is entitled "Japan and the Occupied Countries of Eastern Asia."

It recalls the time when the Germans were plunging ahead in Russia and declares that "at that time some Japanese were stating that it was necessary to include in the Japanese sphere the Soviet Far East and Siberia, and even Middle Asia. These delirious plans of the Japanese imperialists found their inglorious end together with the defeat of the Hitlerite army near Stalingrad."

The article also attacked, by implication, Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek's policy of non-cooperation with the Chinese Communist Army. It quoted a Chungking dispatch to *The London News Chronicle* that said that if General Chiang's army of 3,000,000 were united by a community of aims and general strategic plans with the Communist armies in northern China, "the situation of the Japanese soldiers in China would be very complicated."

### INTERVIEW WITH GEN. CHEN CHENG

NEW YORK TIMES—June 28, 1943, page 5

By Brooks Atkinson  
on Upper Yangtze Front, June 20 (delayed)

"A common impression among Chinese officers, soldiers and citizens has been that America has given spiritual and financial aid to China' said General Cheng Chen, 'but the participation of American air forces in West Hupeh means that American support is now coming in a practical form. It will have the effect of wiping out any suspicion or distrust there may be in China.'

In previous battles the Chinese outnumbered the enemy. But this time the Chinese were outnumbered and the fact that then turned the Japanese advance into a disastrous rout by the superiority of their fighting spirit has given the Chinese soldiers refreshed and strengthened confidence.

According to General Chen the biggest results achieved by the air forces was the destruction of Japanese shipping on the Yangtze which hampered and nearly cut communication lines and demoralized the enemy, who had taken his air superiority for granted.

Japanese bases are so close to the fighting front that Jap planes could bomb and strafe Chinese ground troops in any kind of weather within a few minutes after leaving their fields and could raid for about 16 hours, while American and Chinese planes had to come such distances that they could attack the enemy only once or twice a day for a maximum duration of a few hours.

According to Gen. Wu our air forces had complete air superiority in the last days of the battle."

### SPEECH OF THE CHINESE AMBASSADOR

REMARKS OF H. E. DR. WEI TAO-MING AT THE DINNER IN HONOR OF H. E. DR. H. H. K'UNG, New York City, July 27, 1944

But there are many friends who, in view of the economic difficulties and bitter fighting in China, are looking not without anxiety on the situation. I have often been asked how long can China stand the strain, and is Japan going to knock China out of the war. I wish to answer these friends that, despite the present hardships, Japan can never knock China out of the war. Instead, China will stand fast until Japan herself is knocked out of the war.

However, there is one factor over which I feel much concern. That is the vicious propaganda of our enemy, Japan, to undermine the cooperation among the allies. It is the most dangerous weapon which the enemy is now utilizing to the utmost. If we fall into this trap, much greater difficulties will confront us. I wish to emphasize once again that there is no real problem in China arising from any kind of "isms", whether of Communism or Fascism as maliciously spread out by the enemy.

If China has been able to fight a strong enemy for seven years, and still fights on with increasing vigor, it is because the overwhelming majority of the people is solidly behind the Government. Without that, you will agree with me that we could not have continued our resistance for even a single day. It is the will of our people to follow the democratic principles of our Revolution. We will go forward along this path, and will persist in our efforts until full democracy is achieved.

With your goodwill and understanding, I am sure that our close cooperation will bring about an early victory and a lasting peace.



# Japs Bait China On Anti-U. S. Hook

By the United Press.

CHUNGKING, Oct. 9—(Delayed).—Jap propagandists, seeking to knock China out of the war politically, are baiting their propaganda hook with assertions that the only real enemies of Nippon in Asia are the United States and Great Britain.

The Jap propaganda campaign, coming at a time when the Chinese military situation is at an all-time low, may be the forerunner to possible peace feelers toward China.

Tokyo radio and Jap newspapers increasingly are playing up the theme that Chungking forces which do not resist will not be considered enemies of Japan.

There has been recurrent praise in Jap circles of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, who the Japanese attempt to represent as actually favoring Jap aims but misguided in methods.

## Chungking Says American Aid Since '41 Would Have Kept One U. S. Division for One Week.

Chungking, Oct. 2 (A. P.).—

Meanwhile today a spokesman for the Chinese National Military Council attributed the recent Chinese reverses to lack of essential equipment, declaring that the actual tonnage of American supplies delivered to the East China forces since Pearl Harbor would not have been sufficient to sustain one American or British division in combat for one week.

"The only real help afforded the Chinese armies in East China has been in the form of heroic and remarkably effective air support given by units of the Fourteenth United States Air Force in that area," the spokesman said.

He declared that the work of American airmen who have been flying supplies into China "over the hump" from India has been beyond all praise, and that the tonnage has exceeded all expectations, but he added: "The fact remains that after the minimum requirements of the American Air Force have been met, supplies flown in for the Chinese armies are necessarily very limited, and virtually all of these have been allocated to Chinese forces fighting on the Salween front, where China has made an important contribution to the successful Burma campaign."

The spokesman's statement was issued in response to Prime Minister Churchill's speech in the House of Commons last week when he expressed disappointment at the reverses suffered in China.

# CLARE BOOTH LUCE Speaks Out

An Address by Clare Booth Luce, M.C., of Connecticut At the Celebration of China's "Double Tenth" 1944 Bushnell Memorial Hall, Hartford, Conn. (Condensed)

The United States has not yet evolved any intelligible long-range policy toward Europe. That is one of the great tasks we must work out in the next twenty years. But the United States has evolved two basic foreign policies. One is the Monroe Doctrine—known in its modern terminology as the Good Neighbor Policy toward South America. Named for a Virginia President, it was fashioned by a New England Secretary of State, John Quincy Adams.

And the second basic historic American foreign policy is known as the Open Door in China—or, in the maintenance of the Integrity of China.

The great Republican Secretary of State, John Hay, well deserves the praise which history accords him as the chief architect of that policy. But the foundation stone was laid by a New Englander—a Massachusetts Congressman, Anson Burlingame. He it was who way back in the 1860's first flung out the banner of the Stars and Stripes against imperialistic partitioning of China.

Now on this October tenth, we meet on the anniversary of the great day, thirty-three years ago, when the principles of a democratic Republic were promulgated and established. For thirty-three years every form of wickedness at home and abroad has attacked and attempted to destroy the Republic of China. The Republic of China will not be destroyed. The storms have come; the cruel winds of adversity have blown. But the house stands. For it is founded on the rock of righteous purpose and heroic patriotism.

Today, then, should be a day of celebration. We should celebrate the birth of modern China. China—the greatest country in the world in terms of what counts most—individual human souls. China, the oldest civilization in the world—and China, the first and the longest-suffering of all the United Nations. China—a country too civilized to be 100% militaristic, too isolated to be industrialized, too polite to master the vulgarities of propaganda, too patient to know how to complain against her Allies.

And because the Chinese are too polite and they are too civilized, too proud and too loyal to their Allies to give their side of the story in the vulgate called by our so-called civilized nations "propaganda." Therefore, you and I must tell it. We must tell it now, for China has been treated too long as the Cinderella of the Allies.

The incredible fact is that now, just when the center of gravity of the war moves to the Far East, when China with her back to the wall, can only oppose the steel of Japanese tanks with the living flesh and blood of her men, this moment is being used to place the Chinese Government on trial before the American people.

Where does this indictment come from? It is spewed forth out of the malice of interested parties. And, incredible though it may seem, the defamation of China is even encouraged by some American officials and by publicists who enjoy close relations with our Government.

Let me quote a great newspaper about this, a paper which is both liberal and conservative, in the best sense, and a paper which has been consistently far-sighted and courageous in opposing the Axis powers. I am speaking of the New York Herald-Tribune.

On the occasion of China's Triple Seventh, last July, the Herald-Tribune spoke as follows, and remember that since it spoke the situation has grown worse, both politically and militarily. I quote: "The Chinese are . . . keenly aware that a most assiduous body of radicals, alleged 'liberals' and gossipy sentimentalists are feverishly busy here undermining American confidence in them and sympathy with them. So highly vocal has this group become, and so little effort is made by our Government to keep alive an appreciation in this country of China's stupendous sacrifices and of the incalculable military value of her sustained resistance, that Chungking often gets the impression that the American people are more interested in reforming China, through the subversion of her war leadership than in helping to defeat Japan on Chinese soil."

# CHINESE REDS SAVE HARVEST FROM FOE

## Yenan Reports Victories of Guerrillas Over Japanese in Tientsin, Nanking Areas

1944

By Wireless to The New York Times.  
YENAN, China, Aug. 1 (Delayed) — Today's Liberation Daily News, the Communist party organ, carried two belated reports of the operations of Communist guerrillas in the vicinity of the great north China port of Tientsin and Wang Ching-wei's puppet capital of Nanking early in June.

See P. 94

In the former operation Eighth Route Army troops from central Hopeh, taking the offensive to tie down the enemy while the wheat harvest was being gathered into guerrilla bases, raided Taku, the seaport of Tientsin, on June 3 and temporarily held the police station there.

During the following fortnight the Eighth Route Army attacked many other points in the vicinity, destroying a puppet battalion and other units, dispersing an enemy column advancing on the wheat area—complete with two hundred carts to carry off the crop—and, between skirmishes, helped the people with the harvest and organized its concealment.

Thirty thousands pounds of grain already seized by the puppet forces were recaptured in an attack on a guarded warehouse.

The attack near Nanking on June 9 was made on an airfield where installations were demolished and 200 conscripted-workers were liberated. More than a hundred of these joined the new Fourth Army.

## OWI LISTS JAPS' MILITARY ASSETS

Washington, Sept. 27 (A. P.). Here are a couple of sets of figures the OWI used today to buttress its findings that it will take at least eighteen months to crush Japan after Germany falls:

Japan has 4,000,000 men in the army, 2,000,000 more physically fit who have not been called up and 1,500,000 in the 17 to 20 age group who have not been drafted.

Japan is turning out airplanes (1,400 or 1,500 each month) "as rapidly as we destroy them and probably can maintain or even increase this production slightly."

Recently two well-known radio commentators and columnists went on the air to give the impression to the American people that the Chinese Government has virtually stopped fighting, and that the only real fighting in China was being done by the Communist Army. They said this in spite of the fact that the Japanese offensive which threatens to cut China in two has been directed entirely against the troops of the Chinese Government. It was Chinese Government Armies which died almost to a man in the month-long defense of Hen-yang. The young generals who died with them were trained by Chiang Kai-shek and their last message was to him. It is Chinese Government Armies which have won Victories with General Stilwell in the jungles of Burma.

One of these columnists drew a well-merited rebuke from one of the truest and best-informed friends of China in America, Mrs. George A. Fitch. This is what she said to him in a letter to the World Telegram. I quote:

"What started as a whispering campaign by China's enemies has reached the height of the ridiculous. As one who has lived in China for twenty years, whose husband is there now, writing to me weekly, I can state there is hardly a whole sentence in your article which is true."

Item: 'Millions of Chinese have never heard of Chiang Kai-shek.' I know this is false from my talks with Americans who have been in almost every province of China since this war began, including Kokonor, the Chinese Communist area, and other distant places.

Item: 'The people of North China have to use pidgin English to converse with the people of South China.' Again, false and ridiculous. Not one per cent of the 450 million Chinese speak English of any kind. Among three quarters of the people of China, dialects differ little more than between a New Englander and a North Carolinian.

Item: 'Chiang's first wife was Japanese.' False. She was Chinese, five years older than he, betrothed by their parents, legally divorced.

Item: 'His son was educated in Germany.' False. Chiang Kai-shek has two sons. One was educated in Russia. The other did study in Germany, then in this country and was recently baptized a Christian. Incidentally, I had the pleasure of meeting the young man three years ago when he was serving at the front as a captain. He gave every appearance of being both a gentleman and a soldier.

Item: 'The strictest censorship in the world exists in China.' Obviously false—and an insult to Mr. Joseph Stalin. Had the radio commentator never heard of Russian censorship—or was he, as I suspect, an unconscious tool of Soviet propaganda?

How can such fantastic falsehoods about China be repeated through hundreds of newspaper and radio outlets without an indignant storm of protest? Only because we haven't enough people like Mr. & Mrs. Fitch who know China from many years residence there. They call a lie, a lie. They can because they know. Many of us don't know, but we can find out and we should before we accept stories or repeat them.

Now, why have Americans tolerated this six-month campaign of press and radio vilification of our ally, China?

We tried to believe that the Chinese could go on fighting forever against a great industrial power with virtually no weapons, until we had finished with Hitler. Now we are disappointed. So there is a tendency to make the Chinese Government the scapegoat for conditions in China for which we, ourselves, are at least partly to blame, because of our past neglect of China; our long appeasement of Japan; our military unpreparedness; and our year of defeats beginning with Pearl Harbor. In short, China was the victim, first of our appeasement, second of our unpreparedness, third of the guilt people in high places are beginning to feel about China.

China has received to date, for example, only one half of one per cent of all the Lend-Lease extended to our Allies. We forget that never before in history has a virtually unarmed agricultural and totally blockaded nation ever resisted a great military power as China has resisted Japan. We forget that China for the first time used the heroic policy of the scorched earth on a national scale.

# PIRIT OF CHINESE YON VITAL VICTORY

## Hungry Soldiers Pressed On in Rain and Cold to Drive Foe From Chiangtso

By BROOKS ATKINSON  
By Wireless to The New York Times

WITH THE CHINESE ARMY, on the Salween front, July 11 (Delayed)—Some day there should be a monument at Tatangtsu. Not to be 2,000 Japanese who were killed in that vicinity. Not necessarily to be thousands of Chinese who died or were wounded struggling up that lethal slope into machine-gun fire, rain and sleet.

The Chinese who fell there deserve the gratitude and honor of the entire United Nations. But the monument should be to the spirit of the Chinese soldier. For that spirit won a moral as well as a military victory on that blood-soaked height where thousands of nameless bodies are rotting in the monsoon today.

At present the Fifty-third Army, which originated in Manchuria, has crossed the Shweli River and is battering at the gates of Tengyueh, where it faces a formidable assignment. Behind it lies the agony of the most difficult battle in China, certainly one of the most difficult battles fought anywhere in this war.

### Attack Started Early

The army began the battle with a burst of spirit. Ordered to open one sector of the Salween offensive by crossing the river at 4 in the morning, a regimental commander eagerly crossed at 2 o'clock and got his men well upward before the Japanese could come down to harass the main crossing. Although the regimental commander was wounded, the division swept up the wooded heights until it had climbed within range of the enemy fortifications at Tatangtsu, just over the crest of the first satellite peak.

Exhausted as they were from climbing in the heat of the Salween gorge, they continued struggling up until bursts of machine-gun fire cut them down. They did not delay. File after file of barelegged, cotton-clothed Chinese climbed into a corner of the trail that was spitting death.

The casualties on the first day amounted to two battalions. In snugly protected pillboxes the Japanese could fire down at their convenience, but the Chinese could not reach up to them.

For eight days the Chinese flung themselves upward with

deadly ferocity. The 110th Division asked for further orders.

"Continue attacking the enemy," Gen. Huo Kwei-chang replied.

Two-thirds of one regiment were lost the next day. On the tenth day artillery and United States combat planes broke the enemy's resistance and reinforced Chinese took what was left of the fiery pit in the mountains.

"Give the enemy no rest," the orders said. "Chase him to Chiangtso."

### Foe Pursued Near Goal

Without stopping, two divisions of the Fifty-third Army strained hearts and split lungs over the inhuman mountain pass and chased the Japanese within two miles of Chiangtso. They were not only tired but also hungry and low on military supplies.

They were ahead of the human supply trains that had been climbing day and night through mud or on hands and knees over a trail that was so narrow the coolies could not balance their loads. Many coolies slipped over precipices to their death.

Alarmed by their lack of supplies, forward units reported back and asked for specific orders.

"Attack the enemy at Chiangtso," the orders said.

They attacked. After fighting for three hours their ammunition was exhausted. Simultaneously Japanese reinforcements from Tengyueh began to slip around the left flank. Turning around, they hurried back over the mountains and through knee-deep mud, moving for thirty-six hours without food.

For ten days they lived in the rain under brush lean-tos. There was ice on the trail. The men were cold, soaked and hungry. Two hundred died of exposure.

But supplies were steadily creeping up over the slippery trails. The day came when they could attack Chiangtso again. After leaving one division on top of a mountain and another division to help destroy one unit of Japanese left in the rear of this battle, the weather-worn army attacked Chiangtso and Wation and sent the Japanese reeling home toward Tengyueh.

Shorn of a thousand harrowing details, this is the barest record of the poorly clad, poorly fed, unevenly trained Chinese army that inflicted on the Japanese the worst defeat they had suffered in China. Basically these Chinese soldiers fought on spirit. Some day there should be a monument to their valor amid the rubble and ashes of the little village of Tatangtsu.

We forget that suffering and defeat such as China has endured for seven years have always produced deterioration in government. We forget that blockades always promote inflation, and that inflation always and everywhere has led to profiteering and economic injustice. And we forget that never before in history has any great nation ever been blockaded as China is today.

Some ridiculous suggestions have been made that we should withhold even the trickle of Lend-Lease supplies we are now sending to China. Some left-wing columnists and commentators have urged us to use this pitifully small aid to blackmail the Generalissimo into turning his government over to the Chinese Communists. The American stooges of Moscow not only have ideas for Italy, for France, for Poland, for the U.S.A., but they plenty of ideas for China, too.

We hope that such extreme counsels will not prevail, but it will be safer for the American people to take nothing for granted. We know that this kind of criticism has already done infinite damage to China, both at home and abroad. We know that much of it has been broadcast throughout Asia by Japanese propaganda.

In a letter which has never before been made public, Congressman Judd wrote:

"Needless to say I am profoundly concerned, not so much about

the alleged crisis in China, which is not much more serious than it has been for many months, but because of the nationwide, systematic, organized and coordinated propaganda campaign which began shortly after the agreement between Japan and Russia last winter extending the fisheries arrangement and returning the oil concessions to North Sakhalin to Russia. This has all the appearance of one of the regular Communist Party 'lines' and it amazes me how so many 'liberals' fall for it. If America were to go through half as much for half as long a time as China has been enduring for the last seven years and come through in half as good shape internally, I should be astonished."

Yes, Congressman Judd may well wonder what has happened to our sense of proportion—or decency.

Chiang Kai-shek is in trouble because he gambled his own destiny and that of his nation on his faith in the Western democracies, Great Britain and America, and in their promises. There is naturally dissatisfaction with him in China because the democracies have not made good. This properly casts doubt on the wisdom of his decision. There is one way and only one way that can really resolve the crisis and restore unity, and that is for us to vindicate Generalissimo Chiang's judgment and prove by our performance that he was right in placing his faith in the Western democracies instead of (1) going in with Japan and the other colored peoples to make it a race war, or (2) going in with the Communists to make it a class war.

Let me make this clear: we do not wish to suppress criticism of Chinese affairs—any more than of any other human affairs. This summer the Chinese themselves—in Chungking—have been very vocal in their criticism. And Chiang Kai-shek has publicly thanked the Peoples Council for their criticism. But we do not want criticism based on defamation—or on the party line of a foreign country. And in all honesty, any American criticism of China should be carefully balanced by a recognition of how much our policy is to blame for what ails China now.

Today in the Far East we are witnessing a race against time for incalculable stakes. Japan is making a tremendous effort to deal China her death-blow while she still stands alone.

Real aid in sufficient quantity can only come when we have opened ports in China.

We must have an end to sabotaging of China in America. We must come to our senses and regain our respect for a great nation. We must do this in the name of good common sense, of national security—and in the name of God, as well.

Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

240W  
Director, FBI

DATE: January 25, 1945

FROM: SAC, New York

SUBJECT: INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

30  
Reference is made to my letter of January 9, 1945 enclosing a bulletin prepared by ALFRED KOHLBERG relative to the Institute of Pacific Relations.

There is enclosed herewith a photostatic copy of a letter dated November 9, 1944 which was used in the distribution of this pamphlet to individuals selected by Mr. KOHLBERG. This cover letter which purports to be a copy of a letter addressed to Mr. EDWARD C. CARTER of subject organization, explains in detail the pamphlet which was enclosed with my reference letter.

I am enclosing the photostatic copy of this cover letter for the Bureau's information.

Enc. 1

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# ALFRED KOHLBERG inc.

## Chinese Textiles

1 WEST 37<sup>TH</sup> STREET  JUST OFF FIFTH AVE.

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November 9, 1944

Mr. Edward C. Carter  
Institute of Pacific Relations  
1 East 54th Street  
New York, 22, N. Y.

My dear Mr. Carter:

Last June I received from United China Relief a copy of a booklet issued by your IPR entitled "War-Time China" (IPR Pamphlet #10). In a recent advertisement, Rosemund Lee, your Publications Secretary, referring to this pamphlet states "What is the true situation between the Chinese Communists and the Kuomintang as explained by Maxwell S. Stewart in War-Time China."

Frankly, I was shocked at this pamphlet. From start to finish, it seemed to me a deliberate smear of China, the Chinese and the Chinese Government. I was especially shocked by the following:

"They (the American, British and Soviet Governments) have, however, limited their economic and military assistance because of fear that any supplies they send might be used in civil strife rather than against the Japanese."

This statement seems completely at variance with the many statements made by our President to the effect that all possible aid is being given to China and will continue to be given to China.

Three or four years ago, you may recall, I resigned after a dozen years membership in IPR. You asked me the reason for my resignation and I told you frankly that I thought you had too many Communists on your staff. You asked me if I thought you were a Communist, to which I, of course, replied "No". You then told me that you did not question your staff as to their political beliefs: whether they were Democrats, Republicans, Socialists, Communists, or what not; that you investigated their qualifications and judged them by their work. This seemed to me at the time a very business-like attitude and I withdrew my resignation.

Mr. Edward C. Carter

November 9, 1944

After reading the above referred-to booklet, I decided to look into the IPR publications further. Of course, I have received them all these years, but have seldom had time (I thought) to read them. As a result of this reading, I now attach hereto a lot of clippings from your publications, along with clippings from "The Communist" (official organ of the Communist Party in the U.S.A.) and "New Masses" (another Communist organ), also a few other clippings that seem to bear on the same issues. If you will go through these, I think you will find that your employees have been putting over on you a not-too-well-camouflaged Communist line. Your staff publications follow the "New Masses" line exactly but not quite so frankly and the "New Masses" articles are much better documented. In selecting these, I have had to clip and clip to keep to reasonable length, but I believe that what is left of each article fairly represents the article as a whole, as far as same touches on the subjects covered.

This study poses the question: What are the Soviet Union's aims in the Far East? Is there a sinister purpose behind this Communist inspired campaign to discredit China? Only Marshall Stalin can answer this question.

But another question has been bothering me as I made this study. That question is: Is it treason? Does the publication of untruthful statements give "aid and comfort" to our enemy, Japan, in its attempt to break Chinese unity under Chiang Kai Shek? This question I propound to your Board of Trustees.

Look over these clippings and see if you do not think it is time for a house-cleaning in the IPR. The economic articles (not quoted) sounded to me very much like under-graduate studies, compiled from studies of Chinese economists and lacking any practical business background.

If you agree that a house cleaning in the IPR is long overdue, I will be happy to help. My suggestions would be:

1. Fire all the Reds, because the truth is not in them.
2. Adopt a policy of presenting facts rather than opinions. Identify the sources of your information.
3. Name a responsible body to determine policy.

This last point is suggested to me by what I missed in going through your last 7 years' publications. I found:

1. No criticism of Japan in those 7 years, except of her rural land system;

Mr. Edward C. Carter

November 9, 1944

2. No single criticism of Communist China; and
3. No single criticism of the Soviet Union; whereas I found:
4. Severe criticism of the Chinese Government, alternating with praise, closely following the alternations of the Soviet Union's foreign policy and of the Communist press.

A responsible committee controlling and vouching for your policy would be very re-assuring to the members of, and contributors to your Institute.

I am sending a copy of this letter and the accompanying extracts to other members of, and contributors to the Institute, in the hope that many will read through the material and form their own conclusions.

Very truly yours,

P.S. I am not taking this up with you privately because of my sad experience with you last year in Chungking, when I preferred complaints against one of your subordinates in his presence. I referred you to a detailed list previously given him. I am still waiting for your reply.

P.S. 2. In the enclosed booklet, pages  
1 to 3 - Agreements between Chinese Govt. and Communists  
4 to 37 - Extracts from Institute of Pacific Relations publications  
38 to 77 - Extracts from Communist publications  
78 to 88 - Assorted extracts, including full letter of F.E.A. Administrator Crowley and condensed speech of Clare Boothe Luce

AK:AM  
Encl.



Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Nichols

FROM : M. A. Jones

SUBJECT: [REDACTED]

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 3/10/83 BY [REDACTED]

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. E. A. Tamm	_____
Mr. Clegg	_____
Mr. Coffey	_____
Mr. Glavin	_____
Mr. Ladd	_____
Mr. Nichols	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Tracy	_____
Mr. Carson	_____
Mr. Egan	_____
Mr. Hendon	_____
Mr. Pennington	_____
Mr. Quinn Tamm	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Mr. Nease	_____
Miss Beahm	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

Most Recent Contact with Bureau. By letter of January 2, 1945, [REDACTED] using his business address of [REDACTED] wrote the Director and suggested that the FBI check all delegates attending the Institute of Pacific Relations Conference at Hot Springs, Virginia.

This letter was acknowledged on January 8, 1945, and in addition to thanking [REDACTED] for his comments, it was suggested that any additional information be given directly to the SAC at Seattle.

On January 19, 1945, [REDACTED] again wrote the Director and said he wondered whether his letter of January 2, 1945, ever had come to the Director's attention. He said that it did not seem consistent that he should be instructed to contact the Seattle Office concerning a conference being held at Hot Springs, Virginia.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

53 FEB 13 1945

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CR. [Signature]

Contacts with Bureau. Our files reflect that [REDACTED] on numerous occasions has forwarded information to the Seattle Field Office and to the Bureau concerning Japanese activities on the West Coast.

b7C [REDACTED] concerning the menace of Japanese immigration to this country. In particular he has been perturbed about the Japan Society, Japanese language schools on the West Coast, utilization of the Japanese fishing fleet for espionage purposes and the Japanese infiltration into the Young Republican Club in the State of Washington. [REDACTED] always has been most cordial in his attitude toward the Bureau.

b7C By memorandum of November 29, 1939, Mr. Rosen advised that [REDACTED] had called at the Bureau and had been referred to him for interview. On that occasion [REDACTED] expressed concern about the activities of Japanese fishing vessels on the West Coast, and he said he believed they were a definite problem inasmuch as they were encroaching upon American fishing interests and were engaged in espionage activities. He also advised at that time that the government in Argentina, which country he had just recently visited, tolerated the Japanese fishing activities in American waters. It was Mr. Rosen's observation that [REDACTED] apparently was a very substantial citizen. [REDACTED]

(65-1841-2)

b7C RECOMMENDATION: That the attached letter be sent forth to [REDACTED] with copies being designated for the Seattle and Los Angeles Field Offices.

*Mus*

Attachment